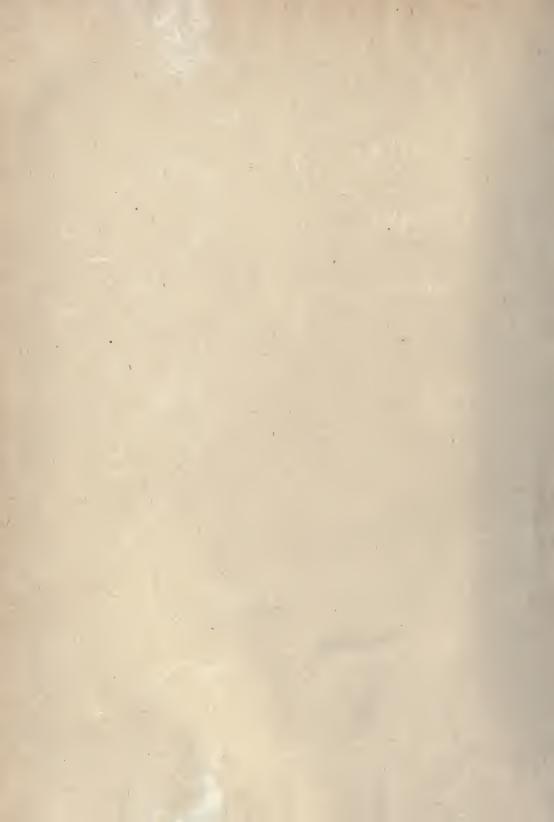
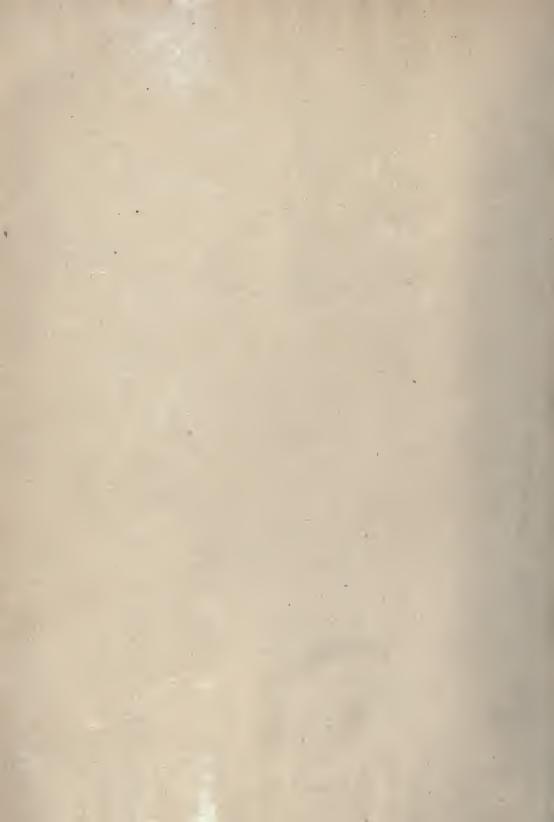
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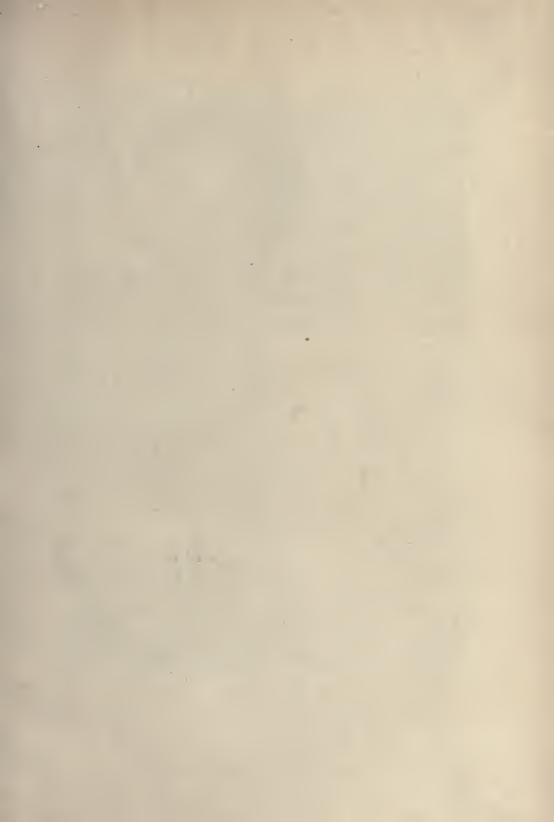
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JERUSALEM FROM THE MOUNT OF OLIVES

THE BIBLICAL WORLD

VOLUME XXXIII

JANUARY, 1909

NUMBER I

Editorial

HOW MAY CHRISTIANITY BE DEFENDED TODAY?

Under this title, Professor A. C. McGiffert, in the October number of the Hibbert Journal, calls attention to the fact that the older defenses of Christianity do not meet the crying demands of apologetics today. "It is not doubt of the truth of traditional doctrines, but doubt of their value, that is always most ominous." President Faunce touches on another aspect of the present situation when he says in his recently published Lyman Beecher Lectures, "It is not that we disbelieve what he (the traditionalist) says; but his whole way of approaching truth, of testing truth, of valuing truth is so different from ours, that we simply cannot follow him. He defends the truths that we have believed all our lives in such a way as to shake our faith in them. He places the duties we have been performing for years on a basis which for us does not exist." Preachers, theologians, and apologists have for some time been more or less keenly aware that Christianity is not being taken by men as seriously as it should be. The ever-increasing output of literature dealing with "new" methods, "new" theology, "modern" statements of faith, and the like, indicates a deep desire to remedy the situation. How can we convince the modern world that it needs Christianity?

THE MORAL DISTRUST OF CHRISTIANITY

The apologetics of the past have been largely concerned with the intellectual difficulties in the way of accepting Christian doctrine. Especially in the past century, when science has made such strides, superseding many traditional religious beliefs concerning the origin and history of the world and of man, it has seemed to be of prime importance to harmonize the results of science with the doctrines of revealed religion. However helpful these attempts may have been

to troubled souls within the church, the outcome of the "warfare between religion and science" has not been wholly to the advantage of Christianity. The theologians have been gradually forced to retreat, covering their withdrawal with rhetorical and exegetical statements which have not always seemed candid to the scientist. The first chapters of Genesis have been tortured into yielding the supposed "latest" conclusions of science, only to find that science moves on, making necessary another "harmonization." Gradually the suspicion arises that the theologian is less interested in discovering the truth than in saving his ecclesiastical reputation. Out of this has grown a moral distrust of theology on the part of scientists.

But an equally significant moral distrust has arisen from the development of our poignant social problems today. Professor Tufts, in his recent Ethics, remarks, "While savages have often practiced infanticide for economic reasons, it is doubtful if any savage family ever equaled the refined selfishness and cruelty of the child labor which modern families have furnished and modern society has permitted." In an age which boasts of its Christian civilization, we find such appalling wretchedness and want due to social injustice, that the church is discredited by those who suffer from an industrial system which has grown up with no effective protest on the part of the church. Indeed, Christianity has frequently seemed to be on the side of the very "vested rights," which take their toll of human lives. Thus in addition to the prejudice of scientists we have the alienation of the workingmen to be overcome by the apologist. The scientist has come to feel that Christianity has not supported him in his search for truth. The workingman has come to feel that Christianity has left him in the lurch in his warfare for social justice. It is this moral distrust of the church which is its chief menace today. How shall we meet this new situation?

THE FUTILITY OF A FORMAL DEFENSE OF CHRISTIANITY

For centuries, Christianity has rested its case on the divine sanction for its existence. The authority of revelation has been cited to guarantee the truth of the Christian system as a whole. The apolegete had only to vindicate the authority of the church or of the Bible, and his main work was done. The real citadel of Christianity rested

safe behind these outer ramparts. But today these outer defenses no longer keep out the enemy. The scientist pays absolutely no heed to what the Bible says in the realm of science. The doctrine of evolution has come to be almost universally accepted in spite of its incongruence with the first chapters of Genesis. And in social life, the exigencies of industrial life have proved stronger than the precepts of revelation. Sunday labor has become very general in spite of sabbatarians. Business has often evolved its methods and ideals as if the Golden Rule did not exist. Social settlements feel that they must dissolve any alliance with formal Christianity in order to avoid the taint of professionalism in their work. And when special privileges are defended by appeal to the formal authority of political and economic tradition, the method of authority in religion is naturally discredited by those who wish to discuss real issues rather than formal claims. To commend Christianity to such men as a divinely ordained system is evidently impossible.

IS THE CHRISTIAN IDEAL MORALLY DEFENSIBLE?

The apologist, therefore, must abandon any attempt to save the situation by a formal defense of a "system" of doctrine. The attack is closer home than that. The enemy is not thinking of the outer fortifications, but is asking whether the citadel can hold its own. Justice the modern social consciousness is determined to have. The exploitation of man for the sake of greed must cease. Does Christianity stand fundamentally for righteousness of this practical sort? If its main purpose is to save "souls" for another life rather than to do justice to men, women, and children in this life, if it is interested in the heavenly millennium rather than in a better social order on earth, then the workingman will turn to the social agitator rather than to the Christian teacher. Probably not many men would go so far as Morrison I. Swift, when he exclaims: "Man will not give religion two thousand centuries or twenty centuries more to try itself and waste human time. Its time is up: its probation is ended; its own record ends it." Yet no thoughtful observer can deny that the challenge implied in this judgment is one which Christianity must speedily meet.

Professor McGiffert regards this as the real problem of apologetics.

He takes his stand on the ideal of social righteousness. He believes that "Christianity stands primarily for the promotion of the Kingdom of God in this earth—that is, the reign of sympathy and service among men." The task of the apologete is to make people believe—this. The ideal of social justice and service needs no defence. The great question is whether this ideal can be best promoted by discarding Christianity or by asking Christianity to undertake the programme of social regeneration.

THE SERVICE OF CRITICAL BIBLICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THIS APOLOGETIC

But what is Christianity? How shall we discover whether or not it is capable of espousing and carrying to completion the social ideal of today? Does the church today in its seeming moral defects represent the real religion of Jesus? It is fortunate that in attempting to answer this question we have the methods and achievements of biblical scholarship at our disposal. The outcome of this scholarship has been to bring into clearest emphasis the essentially moral element in the Bible. The prophets of Israel have ceased to be shadowy figures, and have become living preachers of social justice. Jesus is discovered to be less concerned about the constitution of the church than about those very human virtues which are essential to the cure of our present social ills. The history of the church discloses a significant power of moral reform from within, whenever it has become evident that there has been a departure from the moral ideals of Jesus. Whatever may be the shortcomings of the church in any age, there can be no doubt that Christianity is essentially committed to the very ideal of righteousness and social justice that is controlling in the thought of today. To make this clear is the imperative duty of the hour. If it shall lead to less insistence on rituals and forms in our churches, it may at the same time be the means of centering attention on the real heart of the gospel.

CAN SOCIAL PROGRESS DISPENSE WITH RELIGION?

Now, the power of the moral message of the Bible is due to the fact that the prophets were able to utter their ideals with the conviction that they were expressing the will of God. The early Christians could endure scorn and persecution because they believed that God was leading them. Suppose some prophet should arise today.

who could convince the laboring men that in fighting for industrial and social justice they were fighting the battles of the Lord of this universe. Can anyone guess the power which would come to the movement through such an alliance of the social movement with religion? Now, Christianity stands for the religious basis of morality. If the moral issue could be so defined that it should be between materialists on the one hand and between believers in the righteous God on the other, can there be any doubt where the victory would lie? Christianity is distrusted because comfort-loving believers are often less zealous for social righteousness than are confessed unbelievers. To reinstate in our Christian life something of the religious fervor of the prophets in social issues and to stimulate in our churches the love for men which Jesus showed would convince men that Christianity has power which nowhere else exists to bring about the kingdom of sympathy and service in humanity. Fortunately there is abundant evidence that many thoughtful Christian leaders appreciate the importance of this apologetic problem of our day. And if the church should be unable to win the victory in this conflict it would be because it allowed some other organization to become the bearer of the moral message of the Bible. Let the church then cease all futile tinkering of formal defenses and endeavor to understand the spiritual treasure which has been committed to it; let it squarely meet the real issue without asking special privilege; let it bring its religious reinforcement to the splendid moral ideals of social reforms; and its moral vindication will appear in the only way in which such vindication is possible-in actual achievement which will win the gratitude and trust of men.

THE CHILD-MIND AND CHILD-RELIGION

PROFESSOR EDWIN DILLER STARBUCK, Ph.D. State University of Iowa, Iowa City, Iowa

VI. THE REGIMEN OF ADOLESCENCE

The principles set forth in the preceding article (February, 1908) on "Stages of Growth" are to simplify our present inquiry into the mental and spiritual hygiene of adolescence. We found that the growth from birth to maturity is marked by successive shiftings of the center of gravity of the personality. Four such periods are describable: the vegetative self of babyhood; the imaginative, responsive, but irresponsible, social self of childhood; the practical life of sensory-motor efficiency of youth; and the mental, spiritual, and social self of adolescence, extending from the early teens into the early twenties. The transition from one stage to the next is rather definite and marked by a stress period, an indication of a difficulty of readjustment, and culminates in a time of normality and spontaneity. It is presumable that each period is the mark left in the individual from more or less sharp transitions in modes of ancestral life.

Of all the turning points, that from youth to adolescence is the most clearly marked. Back of it seems to be the rise racially of commerce and the arts. So great is the power of social suggestion and public sentiment that, with the intensification of social life and the rise of improved means of intercommunication, there must have appeared a sudden increment in mental and spiritual development. The transition has also become gradually more definitely focalized in the individual's development through the custom of initiation of the child into family and tribal activities. The custom of initiation, whose counterparts in modern communities are confirmation and conversion, is found, as Professor Daniels has shown, almost universally among both savages and civilized peoples. As the time of initiation approaches, those boys and girls who happen to show the marks of maturity would stand the best chance of selection as mates and as members of the tribe, and would produce after their kind,

while those who remain for the longest time with the capacities of children would be left behind. Such a process of social selection would seem to account not only for the suddenness of the change to maturity, but for the peculiar character of the event as well. The individual must be reborn as a bodily, mental, and spiritual personal self in order to take his place as an adult in the family and society, and must also have a rebirth of altruistic impulses to insure his fitness for the evolved type of society of which he is to form a part.

The central facts to keep in mind, then, as guides to the proper regimen of adolescence are these two: the birth of a higher rational, spiritual selfhood, and the birth also of a sense of otherness, through which the personal self becomes, under normal conditions, decentralized and finds the center of its interest and enthusiasms in other persons, in society as a whole, or in the sum of ideals which it calls God. By keeping in mind these two facts as the inner meaning of an outwardly very complex set of phenomena, the inquiry will be much simplified.

Before suggesting certain precepts which may be of service in a practical way in the treatment of adolescents, I wish to mention two considerations, the one of which is likely to be overlooked, and the other not to be known at all. The first has reference to the normality of the cataclysmic or eruptive character of adolescent awakenings, and the second to the significance of the stress period at early adolescence for the spiritual life.

Some time ago there was an overemphasis among Protestant churches of the need of a "conversion" or a "definite experience" as a means of entrance into the spiritual life, or as the means by which righteousness should have its birth ab extra within the soul. The conviction has now deepened that it is not desirable that all persons should undergo a sudden transformation of character. The reaction has set in to such an extent, indeed, that it is not uncommon for a leader in "advanced thought" to make an onslaught on the doctrine of conversion. Those who advocate a doctrine that rules out sudden awakening as abnormal or unnecessary are forgetting the long process of social selection that lies back of the adolescent experience. Instantaneous upheavals of spiritual energy will probably remain common occurrences for generations to come—until the types of utility-adjust-

ments can have time to annul those now existent. No amount of care in regard to nutrition and exercise, in all probability, could prevent the "average" boy between the ages of fourteen and seventeen from increasing annually in inches in stature, or pounds of weight, two or three times the amount during any year of boyhood. The same law applies to the manifold transformations in bodily structure and function at this period and to those of the psychic life. I have shown elsewhere that not infrequently those young persons who have been carefully guarded against religious influences undergo the drastic "storm and stress" experiences and sudden deliverance due to a subconscious ripening in the direction of the higher life, just as happens to those subjected to a doctrine of a definite regeneration. Adolescence harvests the fruits of the past in many wavs of the past of both personal and race life. One may fairly expect sudden bursts of emotional life, and sudden insights into art, literature, science, friendship, the beauty of nature, and the like. these changes are regarded as normal occurrences, there is equal reason to consider in the same light those that so completely encompass the entire personality as to be called religious experiences. The religious teacher may be compelled to learn that nature's ways are older, and perhaps higher, than his ways, and that his function is to be a helper and not a producer. It is presumably true that the ideal condition is so to anticipate adolescence during the years preceding, that the spiritual life may grow from more to more as is true of flowers and trees. The chances are, however, against a perfectly continuous development of the personality, and even against an indefinite number of small increments. Apart from the antecedents in race life that predispose the individual to adolescent "nerve storms," what person does not find the better life burying itself occasionally under routine, conventions, and a set of habits until the profounder life, "as from a subterranean depth upborne," rushes in to flood life again with purpose and meaning?

The second preliminary consideration is this: if in the early teens one may expect many an instance of bursts of illumination or transformation of character as a normal occurrence, one may equally expect that the same persons should often pass through a time of mental and spiritual callousness. Allowing for individual variations,

the "dead period" is most likely to come at about thirteen years of age. Its marks are passivity, an attitude of aloofness, lack of continuity and interest in occupations, and absence of fine appreciation of values and ideals. Its extreme forms are melancholia, anemia, green sickness, and other disorders. Unless extreme it is no occasion for uneasiness, but only for patience and care. The condition behind it is that growth is at the expense of development. It is an instance of specialization of function in the organism. The stock of vitality is being consumed in working out the physiological transformations that are taking place, and little is left for spiritual functions; just as, after eating, the available energy of the organism is being used in digestion so that a certain degree of inertia is more normal than mental alertness or spiritual fervor. During this night of the soul that may overtake a boy or girl in the early teens, the wise parent or teacher will distinguish between inertia and viciousness, and prepare for the dawning at nature's own time.

At the risk of being didactic, I shall give a few precepts that apply in an especial way to early adolescence and in general to all types of character. They all center around the one great fact of the birth of a higher, that is, a spiritualized social self.

1. Provide a wealth of incentives in the direction of the ideal life. Socrates defined his relation to the young men of Athens as a kind of mid-wifery. The function of the teacher is to help the higher self to be born. The individual is to become not simply a person, but a living soul. Now is the time of all others to feel the deeper promptings and to be led on in a direction of untried verities. The danger is that many souls, all rich in possibility, shall not have a birth at all into the higher life of appreciation, or barely issuing into it, shall continue to be copyists instead of producers. The influences that count for most in the transformation during these years, which is at the same time a soul-emancipation and divine revelation, are those of personalities. The young life should feel the warmth of loving parents. teachers, and friends. The soul cannot grow in vacuo any more than a seed can grow apart from the right conditions of sunlight. moisture and nourishment. Personality is invariably a reflection of and reaction from other personalities. Almost every time, in the history of science, the arts, philosophy, and literature, the genius has

received his inspiration from a great-spirited, prophetic friend and teacher. A teacher without vision is a keeper of captives, while an inspired companion is an emancipator of souls. The real teacher may be the guide to the spiritual heritage of the race as expressed in our literatures, philosophies, and religions.

There is a considerable literature especially adapted to young manhood and womanhood, with direct appeals to the higher type of selfhood that would issue forth. Emerson is rich in such appeals:

Trust thyself: every heart vibrates to that iron string. Accept the place the divine providence has found for you. Insist on yourself; never imitate. Your own gift you can present every moment with the cumulative force of a whole life's cultivation; but of the adopted talent of another you have only an extemporaneous, half possession. There is at this moment for you an utterance brave and grand as that of the colossal chisel of Phidias, or trowel of the Egyptians, or pen of Moses, or Dante, but different from these. Surely you can reply to them in the same pitch of voice. Abide in the simple and noble regions of thy life, obey thy heart and thou shalt reproduce the Fore-world again.

Of like use are Matthew Arnold's Self-Dependence and Buried Life, Carlyle's Sartor Resartus and Heroes and Hero-Worship, the writings of Ruskin, Lowell's Present Crises and Cathedral, and a vast deal of easily accessible material. A young man or woman long subjected to such words must be made of wood or stone whose pulse beat is not quickened by them, and who does not rise in the majesty of his newly discovered selfhood to meet them. The latent personality may be stimulated by an intimate acquaintance with a few of the master minds: religious prophets and heroes like Moses, Elijah, Jesus, Paul, and Augustine; the founders of systems, like Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Spinoza, and Kant; producers in science, like Galileo, Bruno, Newton, and Darwin; great political leaders, like Gladstone, Bismarck, Kossuth, Kosciusko, Lincoln, and Washington; and prophets in art, such as Da Vinci, Angelo, Dante, and Wagner.

Not less important than the dramatic appeal is the emotional. If the years that precede adolescence are factual, these, on the contrary, are stirred by the refined sentiments. Something even of the mystical and transcendental has usually found a place in the heart of the geniuses of the race. Tennyson says of himself:

A kind of waking trance I have often had, quite from boyhood, when I have been all alone. This has generally come upon me through repeating my own

name two or three times to myself silently, till all at once, out of the intensity of the consciousness of individuality, the individual itself seemed to dissolve and fade away into boundless being: and this not a confused state, but the clearest of the clearest, where the loss of the personality (if so it were) seemed no extinction but the only true life.

I believe that this enraptured sense of some vast truth or reality lying just beyond, toward which the soul is obsessed, is the characteristic attitude not only of the artist and religionist, but also of the successful scientist, inventor, and man of affairs. It is doubtful if the plain matter-of-fact attitude alone, without sentiment, can ever deliver the personality or discover truth. Perhaps religion exists in the world as a selected utility in cultivating a hopeful emotional approach to the supersensuous world. If so, its inception belongs in an especial way to the middle teens, so full naturally of dawning ideals and unfulfilled longings. Religion should not forget its kinship with music, poetry, art, and morality. Often when the call of religion is meaningless, the higher self will be brought to birth or to its successive rebirths by surrounding young manhood or womanhood with a wealth of music saturated with shades of truth that transcend speech, or with poetry and art transfused with meanings to which "thought is coarse and dull of sense." The reawakening is the end, the means are indifferent.

2. The first danger is that the higher spiritual selfhood should fail to find its birth at all, or should be still-born; another danger is that it be prematurely born. The new personality should be rich and full. A second precept may be: Make haste slowly; give ample time and opportunity for the ripening of the personality; develop it on many sides. Is the individuality that is to be erected now upon the foundations of childhood and race experience to be like a spindling shaft or like a stable pyramid? Will it be a world or a world-kin? Will it perfect the race-culture by starting in its own achievement from where that has left off, having shared the full heritage of the past, or will it, through too early affirmation, encase itself within a certain doctrinal mould, and shut itself away within the range of few selected interests? Is it not the purpose of nature in prolonging adolescence from almost nothing to ten or twelve years of duration that each person might draw richly from the past and build ample foundations for

mature life? And during the short stretch of years during which we know the history of culture it would seem that one of the conditions of great achievement is that this period for ripening and assimilation should be utilized. Jesus began his active ministry at thirty. Aristotle was preparing to be a real teacher while, after the youthful enthusiasm that drew him from Stagira to Athens at eighteen, he was putting himself to school for nineteen years to Plato and to the other teachers living and dead, before he began his own constructive work as an interpreter of nature and life. Would there have been an Augustine, the prophet, teacher, and organizer, had the hungering and thirsting young man pitched his tent, during his aching years of quest, finally with the rhetoricians, or the Stoics, or neo-Platonists, or Manichaeans? Let each teacher ask himself the question whether the extrication from the common mass of humanity of a Kant, a Dante, a Galileo, a Frederic W. Robertson, a Carlyle, a Phillips Brooks, and of the producers generally, is not bound up necessarily with patient acquisition during early manhood, often, if not generally, with heartache and struggle as the condition of the progressive births and rebirths of the soul. What, on the contrary, barring the exceptions, has become of the crop, during each decade, of the boy preachers, child poets, and other prodigies? At the end of the inquiry he may sympathize with a fear that there are many tendencies in education which, while subserving a useful end, defeat the purpose of adolescence as a time for discovery and for apprenticeship. Is not a series of years of training in the school of experience, under the guidance of a master, a good thing for a prospective artist or artisan? Is it wise that a youth in the high school should "elect" his entire curriculum when his judgment of "educational values" is on a par with a babe's knowledge of dietetics? Is he not preparing to be the towering shaft instead of the stable pyramid? On the other hand, to force upon him a fully "prescribed" course as the only true culture, may that not kill the soul by the deadness of the letter, or imprison it? Early conversions, when they involve a sense of a completed experience and a belief in definite doctrines, are perhaps in like manner defeating the purpose of adolescence. Among religious bodies generally, whether they teach a doctrine of conversion as a definite experience or not, there are customs of like import whose outcome

may be the circumscribing of the spiritual life while meaning to provide for its deliverance. The constantly reiterated creeds that have come down to us from Nicaea and Constantinople the young heart must "believe" as fixed and final. That was clearly the intention of their formulation in those days when the church, as the inheritor of the power of Rome, was even more a political institution than a religious brotherhood. Would it not be well to retranslate some of the statements of belief into prayers for wisdom: "Show me God the Father, after whom my soul hungers; reveal to me Jesus Christ, in the beauty of whose life the glory of the Father shone forth," and so on, of like import? Shall the affirmations of religion not be that the truth-seeking, righteousness-hungering soul, having turned its back once for all upon sin, has entered upon an eternal quest, rather than to ayow its present possession of the measure of truth?

The chief characteristic of the newly awakened self during the teens is its instability. Its behavior is like the unsteady movements of an infant learning to walk. But for the energy and enthusiasm that can try and fail and try again, it is comparable to a pyramid standing uncertainly upon its point. The surface play of consciousness receives prompting from the undercurrents of a thousand diverse impulses, any one of which may catch up the personality and carry it along to its destiny. A succession of inviting ideals float before the fancy and many of them are tried out in imagination, if not in actual experience. The bodily life, too, is unstable. Growth having been at the expense of development, the movements are awkward and ungainly. The nervous system in its higher levels, as Clouston¹ and others have shown, is so unorganized and unstable as to make some sort of aberration, like melancholia, hysteria, epilepsy, occur more frequently than at other times in life. Seen upon the background of race life, we should say that during these unsteady years the vouth is threading his way along a devious path, guided, it is true, by a hereditary stock of predispositions, but otherwise more or less alone. Clouston has well remarked that when one remembers that during these few years the youth is passing over the course of development that has taken the race millions of years to traverse, the wonder is that so many pass through it safely.

¹ Clouston, Neuroses of Development, pp. 106-23.

Because this is a period of instability, it is also the time above all others for the determination of character. Once an enthusiasm becomes fixed, once an idea becomes insistent, once the personality becomes cyrstallized about a certain set of impulses, the chances are against changing it. Biographies are fertile in evidences, as Dr. Lancaster² has shown, that adolescent interests and attainments are prophetic of those of mature life. The distinguished poets, scientists, philosophers, and other types have usually produced something during this period which has set the pattern for later activities. The same is true of criminal and other abnormal tendencies.3 In whatsoever direction the pyramid falls it will lie. At this time of instability there is the same need of loving guidance as in the case of the tottering infant. Like the little child, the emerging selfhood will assume an air of independence, and refuse the proffered hand; and that is well. But it will grow by the protection, good cheer, and love that it professes to reject, and escape many a pitfall and calamity in consequence. Rather than urge the early choice of a career or impel a decision upon life problems, wisdom will often lie in the direction of patience, holding steady until the larger horizon opens, and the deeper meanings of life can be appreciated. Too early a crystallization of the self around some childlike enthusiasm or immature ideal means, the chances are, a dwarfed and partial personality.

Much could be said in favor of the value, in saving the life for higher aims, of an early affirmation, such as loyalty to a sect, or of belief in certain doctrines. The distinction is a vital one, however, between affirmations of attitude and affirmations of attainment. The professions of young men and women, often encouraged by their solicitous elders, of perfection, of knowledge, and certainty, of joy and fulfilment, and of sinlessness, when placed alongside the humble minds of Jesus, or of Tennyson or Browning or Socrates, that have sought the eternally better, are instructive if not amusing. They are harmless if soon outgrown. It is well that the soul be held steadfast by some great loyalty or cherished ideal. But let not the value of being anchored be confused with the danger of being stranded.

² Lancaster, "The Psychology and Pedagogy of Adolescence," Ped. Sem., V, 113–18.

³ Cf. G. S. Hall, Adolescence (New York, 1906), chap. v.

3. Each individual is unique, and the uniqueness is a measure of the degree of individuality. Of all the names that have had worth enough to live there have been but one of a kind, and there will probably never be another. A favorite theme of late has been the study of the eccentricity of genius. There is justice in the claim that the greatest minds have strained the limit of normality in one or another direction. Such is the means of enrichment of the body of culture and attainment. Adolescence is the real beginning of the divergence of the individual from the type. In the various tests of children of different ages to determine standards of mental and physical efficiency, the degree of divergence of the individual from the average ability is relatively small up to about twelve years of age. From this time on through adolescence the divergence from the type is greater, and increasingly so. In other words, young men and women become progressively more unlike each other during the teens than they are during childhood. Is not this differentiation of personalities from the common mass of humanity nature's method of growth and development? And are not the efforts perchance ill-advised that anxious parents and teachers often exert to make conformists of those they train? Is it not a mistake, too, to give them mental and spiritual food in groups, and apply the same educational rules to all alike? Rather than try to follow rules for guidance, a safer precept would be: Use tact and sympathy, and regard each young person as a problem in himself to be helped in a special way. Differences in taste, temperament, and training are to be respected. The concern of the teacher is that individual peculiarities do not reach the point of abnormality, with perhaps a more generous interpretation of the danger line. One young person, let us say, is of the motor type temperamentally, and the new life comes in terms of an impulse to achieve some great social, political or religious reform of the drastic type, to build some great enterprise, or be a moving force in the stock market. Would it be better to let the fever expend itself while at the same time stimulating those ideals that will finally sap the lesser ones, or wilfully to oppose by preaching a doctrine of renunciation or by holding up an ideal of monastic seclusion? A positive, constructive procedure might produce a true reformer who is a prophet, or a philanthropist who is not a self-assertive egotist. Another person is temperamentally of the passive type, who loves solitude and inclines to meditation. Very well; his world is becoming clarified. He is being extricated from a shallow world of petty obligations and meaningless distractions, freed from hot haste and fussiness, and gaining an appreciation of the meanings of life. Deep may come to answer to deep within his heart. Only do not allow him to lose his vital touch with concrete and factual things, which, if rightly used, are food for the mind and are necessary symbols of reality. The opposite pole to slavery to a barren world of objects is extreme subjectivity that may end in the spiritual revels of a thin mysticism or in melancholia. Many great minds—perhaps most of them—have had a period or periods of seclusion, during which they have wrestled with the deeper meanings, even to the point often of extreme anguish of soul.4 Let the zealous patron be slow to interfere, for he may be breaking into a struggle between an imprisoned heart and an angel of truth that would be its real deliverer. I once asked a beautiful-minded Catholic priest who was in charge of an ecclesiastical seminary why it was that more of his young men did not undergo a storm-and-stress experience such as seems to be so common among other young men; for there seemed to be no well-developed instances. He replied that when he found any young man growing spiritually morose, or becoming filled with doubts, he encouraged him to go and kick a football or play a vigorous game. Then the tempter would hie away. I have often wondered about the wisdom of such a method applied generally. If the end is to turn out a body of men loyal to a ready-made and completed system or set of doctrines, then it may be right; but if the end is continued growth and discovery, then the rule will apply to those persons only who so waste themselves through inaction as to lessen their forcefulness after the readjustment. Let those who dare assume the rôle of spiritual guide seize the situation at that point at which the will may be emancipated and neither paralyzed, on the one hand, through inaction, nor cheapened, on the other, through pursuing unworthy ideals. There is again the type of those who are chronically thick-skinned mentally. They pride themselves upon their lack of sentimentality. Everything must be subjected to the strict discipline of reason. That is no harm. It is their particular way of handling

⁴ Cf. Religion and Medicine, p. 399.

the same materials of common life which the sentimentalist appreciates with a warmth of spiritual fervor. An interesting contrast, too, in temperamental types is that between the positives who say "Yes, ves," and the negatives, who with equal consistency say "No, no." The attitude of the former is that of inquiry, credulity, receptivity and assimilation of new ideas, and of the tendency to respond sympathetically to suggestions. Their development is generally gradual and uneventful. The latter type, aptly designated the "constitutionally anti," are full of counter or negative suggestibility. They hold at arm's length a new idea and quarrel with it—often just because it is presented dogmatically. A new world-view or religious doctrine is likely to be doubted and rejected, and then accepted, if at all, whole-heartedly and with excessive affirmations of belief and loyalty. These grow most naturally by fits and starts, and are good subjects for reformations, conversions and "second experiences." It is futile, if not actually harmful, to try to force the gentler type into a cataclysmic regeneration, and perhaps impossible to lead the organically stiff-necked into the ways of righteousness without some sort of definite rebirth.

These are only a few of the types, and these do not exist pure. Each person is a problem in himself. When it is fully recognized that individualism and diversity are as important laws of growth as conformity to a type, we shall have fewer of the shop methods in religious culture, and more of listening to the deeper voices as they speak through diverse humanity.

4. Another precept that may stand in good stead during adolescence is: Furnish such intellectual food as will supply the fullest needs of a developing soul. Doubts are natural and not dangerous. They are an index of an awakening mind. It is a period of discovery. The unsought questionings indicate the incursions of a larger truth. Many young persons ache in silence and pray in secret over what they believe to be, and are encouraged to call, the "sin of doubt." There should be no such category under the catalogue of sins. I was once addressing a large group of ministers upon the need of treating adolescent and other doubts constructively and sympathetically. During the discussion that followed, an aged minister, who had for many years been a valued president of a theological seminary, arose

to say that he had come to treat the spiritual difficulites of young men not only sympathetically but reverently, for great things were happening, and he could learn as much from them as they could learn from him, 'That was a real teacher. When struggles arise it is not the time to drag the inquiring soul to its knees and pray for deliverance from doubt, nor is it the time for authoritative utterances of doctrinal wisdom; but rather for heart to heart inquiries after the profounder verities of the spiritual life. This attitude is better for the teacher: for then his truth does not become a closed system, that may mock him with its hollowness when it is outgrown, but a living thing that grows with his growth toward the boundless perfection. It is better for the growing mind that needs assistance. It is learning to trust itself and also the All-Father, the creator not only of the hungerings of the heart and the joys of religion, but likewise of human intelligence and reason; it is acquiring the truth-seeking attitude by which religion may become a dynamic and not a static thing; it is learning to believe in the candor and sincerity of others, who profess to have found out, through hard experience, some of the ways of deliverance. It is better also for the health of religious organizations if they welcome free inquiry. Does not the problem of the depleted upper classes in the Sunday School center in the absence of real mental food?—the struggles, failures and triumphs of the Jewish people; the evolution of Jewish national and religious ideals; a study of the Sermon on the Mount as an ethical and religious document; the origins of Christianity, and its place in the growth of western ideals; a comparative study of Christianity and other religions; an interpretation of the meaning of the faith attitude in religion and in life in general, etc., etc. It is true that wild game will go where food is to be found, even at a risk of life. The teacher may well invoke the arts of the hunter in this respect. Young people's religious organizations have difficulty in gaining numbers and in appealing to young men of a virile type. I have often been appalled in attending their meetings to hear among the "testimonies" profession of what seems to be the experience of David or Paul or other mature persons. Nor is it uncommon to hear the note of disappointment on the part of the "probationers" and "associates" that they, no matter how faithfully they have tried, are not similarly blessed. Might not the outcome be greater if these organizations were turned into religious brotherhoods, in which, with equal frankness, rich experiences were professed and doubts confessed, and that without a shadow of depreciation of the doubter?

5. A word at least must be said, finally, in view of a most central fact of adolescence—the decentralization of the lesser self and the finding of a larger self in humanity and God. A means of escape from the one into the other is through the positive expression of the social impulses. The greatest, perhaps, of all the defects of education generally is that it is egocentric. It stores the mind with "useful" knowledge: it worships the God success. It asks, what shall we do that the young man may win out as a lawyer, that he may secure the highest emoluments as a teacher, that he may get an income that will make him comfortable? This is to overlook the significance of adolescence as a world phenomenon. It has come into life as a socializing period. The ceremonies that attend it among peoples everywhere exist for the "initiation" of the individual into group life. Society has been the door of entrance from innocence to knowledge, from nescience to culture. Is the end of education citizenship? Then our schools are built too much upon the order of vying and contending aggregates, and too little as organisms in which each finds its life in the whole. Even if one should say that the highest good is fullness of life, and that the end of culture is realization of a higher selfhood, our methods are equally lame. "A man must be clothed with society, or we shall feel a certain bareness and poverty, as of a displaced and unfurnished member." The nucleus of every new impulse in art, literature, civilization, has been the warm spot where the cross-currents meet, where each has "cleared his head of much nonsense of his wigwam," and through the intermingling has generated the "heat to dissolve everybody's facts." It is in this factthat the higher self has its source historically in the group life—that the conflicting ideals of solitude and society, of individualism and gregariousness, of perfection and self-sacrifice, as applied to the regimen of adolescence, have their solution. "Our safety," says Emerson, "is in the skill with which we keep the diagonal line. Solitude is impracticable, and society fatal. These wonderful horses need to be driven by fine hands." If the pair has been unequally yoked, and

independence, individualism, power, efficiency, success, has been the aggressive member, we must see a revitalizing of the social forces in education: the encouragement and refinement of societies and sociables, reading the great literatures that picture life in action, the acting of plays, the study of government, politics and sociology, building institutional churches and schools as the intense centers of community life, providing rich, ripe personalities as teachers, and all such things as will further the Copernican revolution through which the soul may feel itself as an organic part of a larger universe.

A positive expression of social impulses is a way of escape from many of the dangers of adolescence. Doubt and storm and stress, normal in themselves, develop into rebellion and melancholia whenever the life processes become so stagnant that the will is helpless. The contagion of social responsiveness is its surest antidote. A great deal is written about the temptations and social evils among young men. The proper treatment of these is the most serious of all the problems of adolescence. Negative methods that would hold up the consequences of wickedness, or that would guard youth against temptation are of little avail. The notion that young men and women should be kept in separate classes and schools and held apart socially is negative, and only postpones the difficulties that have to be faced, if it does not aggravate them through foolish imaginings. The evil can be cast out only with the good. Let the young man, when temptation threatens to overcome him, put on his good attire and seek out and mingle with his best friends of the same and opposite sex. He will be surprised how quickly the demons of false desire disappear, and how invariably hope and cheer and right impulses gain possession of his nature. Satan never can endure publicity. When the responsiveness to the higher social impulses becomes habitual, there is then little to fear. The same law applies to his stock of energy as to his stock of money. They are both limited and fairly fixed in amount. Having spent either for books, art or social betterment, there is little or none left for wastefulness and wantonness.

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF ATONEMENT XIII. CONCLUSION

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The previous articles have presented in rapid survey the thought concerning atonement as held in the successive periods of Old Testament history, in the period lying between the Old and New Testaments, and by the various teachers and writers of the New Testament. It remains now to summarize the results attained in the preceding portions of this study, to indicate the fundamental and enduring elements in the teaching as distinguished from the incidental and transitory, and to compare the teachings of the various periods one with another.

r. Summary of the Old Testament doctrine.—There is no uniform, persistent doctrine of atonement in the Old Testament. Each new age brought with it new ideas concerning God and sin. Change in these conceptions necessitated corresponding change in the formulation of the idea of atonement. The ever-widening experience of Israel forced the acceptance of changes in these great fundamental concepts of religion.

New occasions teach new duties; Time makes ancient good uncouth; They must ever up and onward Who would keep abreast of truth.

Certain phases of the idea were developed under the stress of circumstances, answered the need of the age, and were left behind with the age to which they belonged, having no further function to perform in the new religious and social environment. Certain other elements of greater vitality survived all through the history, wielding more or less of influence upon the religious life of the nation. But whatever the fate of such subsidiary elements, the idea itself went on and increased in power. From a relatively unimportant place in the ritual of early times, it passed on to the stage where atonement apart

from a specially created and elaborate atoning ritual was unthought of, and ended by dominating the whole ritual of the temple, so that the splendid constructions of the priestly legislation were all made to subserve the overwhelming need of reconciliation between God and his people. This thought filled the whole horizon of the later legislators.

Among those elements in the idea of atonement which faded out of Israel's consciousness, two were of special significance and prominence. The first was the view of the sacrifice or offering as a compensation to Jehovah for an offense against his majesty and holiness. This was the prevailing teaching in the earliest times, but it changed its significance as the conception of God grew more and more ethical and spiritual, and the gift came to be looked upon finally as only the outward manifestation of an inward and spiritual grace. Closely allied to this view was the second, which saw in the animal sacrificed a substitute for the man whose guilt was deserving of death. This substitutionary theory of the atonement appears clearly in the old custom recorded in Deut. 21:1-0 and in the explanation of Israel's sufferings furnished by Isa., chap. 53, and probably lies behind many of the older usages. But it is wholly without influence upon the later legislation regarding atonement and is incompatible with the teaching of the individual's personal responsibility for his own sins which is insisted upon by Ezekiel and his successors.

An ancient aspect of the atoning ritual which persisted all through Israel's history is the conviction that "unwitting" sins must be expiated. Some scholars contend that atonement was available for unwitting sins only; but this contention does not reckon faithfully with such passages as Lev. 5:1; 6:1-7; Num. 16:41 ff. The entire conception of "unwitting" sin involves the holding of a mechanical and unethical idea of God. It makes sin a matter of forms and ceremonies instead of, or at least alongside of, its being regarded as a product of the human will. This view, however, is confined to the priestly school which treasured the ancient rites and never entirely freed itself of primitive ideas about God and sin.

The final teaching of the priests was that atonement was to be obtained through absolute obedience to the divine will. The complete expression of that will is found in the requirements of the Mosaic law. The faithful and exact performance of all these require-

ments assures the nation and the individual of the permanent possession of the divine favor. Implied in all the later teaching regarding atonement was the belief that the atoning act or series of acts was primarily indicative of a change of attitude on the part of the one making atonement. This change is prerequisite to the bestowal of pardon.

To the prophets must be conceded the honor of having most clearly discerned the character of God and of having consequently best understood the nature of the atoning process. Caring little for forms they insist upon repentance as the sine qua non of forgiveness. Fellowship with God and the enjoyment of his favor are open only to those who with singleness of eye seek to do his will. "Seek good and not evil, that ye may live and that Jehovah, God of Hosts, may be with you as ye have said." The simplicity and depth of this prophetic teaching are unsurpassed. It reveals on the one hand a full understanding of the human heart and, on the other, a true appreciation of the will of God. At one other point the prophets attain to high vision; that is, in the teaching that the unmerited suffering of the innocent may have redemptive power in the hearts of the guilty to whom the suffering was due. Through the observation of this suffering, the wicked come to the knowledge of the true God and so are bowed in repentance before him. Beneath all the prophetic teaching concerning reconciliation lies the assumption that the power to place himself in an attitude pleasing to God resides in the sinner; nothing but his own will separates him from God, who willeth not the death of a sinner but rather that the "wicked turn from his way and live" (Ezek. 33:11).

2. Later Jewish ideas.—From the restoration of the temple in the days of Zerubbabel till its fall in 70 A.D., temple worship and temple sacrifices continued practically without interruption, but sacrifice was no longer, if it ever had been, the central element of the religion of the individual Jew. Sacrifices were taken up into the legal system and were offered, not because of any inherent virtue in them or power to secure the forgiveness of sins, but because the law required it, and the altar sacrifices had to do chiefly with the relation of Israel as a whole to God, rather than with the individual. Sacrifice is mentioned in connection with the atonement of the sins of the individual in one

book (II Maccabees) of the later pre-talmudic literature, but it is not clear that even for this writer it had intrinsic propitiatory value. (Cf. Biblical World, April, 1908, p. 280.) Of atonement for the nation through the suffering of the righteous members of the nation there are traces in Josephus and in IV Maccabees. The thought seems to be that when the nation has sinned, God must manifest displeasure with their sin, and that he may do this if he will, not by punishing the whole nation, but by permitting evil to fall upon a few who are representatives of the whole. At the same time, there is here perhaps the germ out of which there grew that conception which more or less dominated later Jewish thought, that a man's standing before God is determined by the good works to his credit.

If we may discern any constant doctrine running through these later writings, it is that the *individual* is forgiven when he repents and lives righteously; the sin of the *nation* may be forgiven in consequence of a manifestation of the divine wrath falling upon the righteous representatives of the sinful nation, or of an act of notable righteousness by an individual even though this involves no suffering on his part.

- 3. Common elements of New Testament teaching.—Before passing to the summary of the teachings of the individual teachers and writers of the New Testament, it will be well to call attention to certain elements of that teaching, in which they are all substantially in agreement.
- a) It is the doctrine of practically all the books of the New Testament that human sin causes alienation between God and man, making sinful men the object of his righteous wrath.
- b) The New Testament writers differ greatly among themselves in the particular classes of sins which they especially condemn but it is the common teaching of all of those who express themselves on this matter that that in sin which makes it guilty, and which makes sinful men the object of divine displeasure, is the suppression of known or knowable truth and failure to act in accordance with it. Paul's statement that "the wrath of God is revealed from heaven against all impiety and wickedness of men who hold down the truth in unrighteousness" is one with which all New Testament writers substantially agree.

- c) All New Testament teachers and writers agree that the condition of forgiveness of sin and reconciliation with God is ethical. This ethical condition is variously stated as repentance, faith in Jesus Christ, forgiveness of others, participation in the moral life of Christ, the doing of law. But the variant statements, found often in the same writer, indicate no real difference of teaching.
- d) The New Testament writers agree that there is a relation between the reconciliation of the sinner with God and the sufferings and death of Jesus. What the nature of this relationship is, and the extent of variations of the teaching of different writers on this point, will appear later.
- 4. John the Baptist.—There is no satisfactory indication that John the Baptist connected atonement for sins with the death of Jesus. His conception of the coming one was of a judge, who was coming to speedy and decisive judgment on Israel. The wrath of God which is to be inflicted by him may be escaped and men saved by repentance manifested in good works. Jesus, when he appears, is recognized as one who suffers in that he bears the load of human sin; but this is a testimony of observation and insight, not an element of John's doctrine of atonement.
- 5. The teaching of Jesus.—The whole representation of Jesus' teaching in the Fourth Gospel differs widely in form and to some extent in substance from that of the Synoptic Gospels. But the two reports are strikingly similar in substance so far as concerns Jesus' teaching concerning the meaning of his death, and the basis of forgiveness. Two elements of Jesus' thought about his death stand out clearly both in the Synoptic Gospels and in John:
- a) He recognizes his death as the resultant of two factors: fidelity on his own part to a principle of life which is universally obligatory, and human sin as manifested in his own nation. His sufferings, therefore, fall under a general law. They who follow him in the adoption of this principle of life may not die a violent death, but they devote themselves to the interests of their fellow-men without reserve even unto death. Jesus did nothing, suffered nothing that he did not ask his followers to do and suffer in principle, and if occasion should require, in fact.
 - b) The death of Jesus is not a mere matter of necessity. It has

redemptive value for men. He gives his life a ransom for many; not, however, in the sense that his death is a compensation for the wrong done through the sin of others, but in that his death is an exemplification of the true principle of human life, and becomes the means of bringing men into covenant relationship with God, thus effecting reconciliation between God and sinful man.

- 6. The primitive church.—The early church so far as its thought can be discerned from the sources accessible to us (chiefly the first part of the book of Acts) looked upon the death of Jesus as that of the suffering servant of Jehovah. It emphasized especially (a) the wickedness of those who murdered him, and (b) the fact that his death was nevertheless a fulfilment of prophecy and of divine purpose. This representation was no doubt in part apologetic, made under the influence of the desire to defend the messiahship of Jesus against the apparently conflicting fact of his rejection and death at the hands of his own nation, and to convert this fact into an argument in favor of his messiahship. But it reflects at the same time the thought of the church that the death of Jesus was vicarious, being not the punishment of his own sin, but endured that he might give repentance and remission of sins to Israel. Of a more definitely formulated doctrine, there is no trace, either in Acts or in the Epistle of James. Forgiveness, even of the murderers of Jesus, is freely granted of God on condition of repentance and acceptance of the Jesus whom they had killed. In particular the death of Jesus was not interpreted as succeeding the old sacrifices and taking over their meaning.
- 7. The teaching of the apostle Paul.—a) The apostle Paul looks upon the death of Jesus as at once proof of the divine love of sinful men and a manifestation of Christ's own love. This conception, which is undoubtedly latent in all the earlier New Testament teaching, is explicit in Paul and fundamental to his whole thought.
- b) The most characteristic element of Paul's thought about the death of Jesus is that it is a demonstration of the divine righteousness, a revelation of God's hostility to sin. This is an explicit statement of a doctrine which perhaps underlies the statements of IV Maccabees about the death of the martyrs.¹
 - c) By the virtue of his death and its demonstration of divine
 - It is to be remembered that the two writers are nearly contemporary.

righteousness, Jesus is in the divine plan propitiatory for those that have faith. In other words, a revelation of God's holy displeasure against sin being furnished in the death of Jesus, it is possible for God graciously to forgive and accept those who on their part accept Jesus by faith.

- d) Through the death of Jesus and the accompanying new revelation of a principle of faith, the law as a statutory system is abolished and men are delivered from the curse of the law, i. e., are enabled to see that that curse which the law, according to a strictly legalistic interpretation of it, pronounces on all men, because they have not continued in all the things that are written in the book of the law to do them, does not truly represent God's attitude toward men, but that he desires the pardon and redemption of men, and forgives those who have faith.
- e) In common with Jesus himself Paul recognizes Jesus' death as falling under a law under which the disciple also is placed. He desires himself to enter into the fellowship of Christ's sufferings and to fill up that which is lacking in them. Of any relation between the death of Jesus and the sacrifices of the levitical system, there is but the slightest hint in the writings of Paul. His conceptions are influenced by the dominant legalism of Jewish thinking rather than by the ritualistic thought which, as we have already seen, had largely fallen into the background in this period, existing, so far as it did at all, as a mere phase of legalism.
- f) In his later letters Paul gives to the death of Jesus not only a racial, but even a cosmic significance. Through it, it is God's purpose to reconcile to him all things in heaven and earth.
- 8. The teaching of I Peter.—The author of the First Epistle of Peter speaks of the death of Jesus chiefly with the purpose of exhorting his readers to endure patiently suffering for well-doing and not for ill-doing. In so doing he points to Jesus as fulfilling the prophecy of Isa., chap. 53. The assertion that Jesus bore our sins on the tree has for its chief purpose to present the example of Jesus as suffering willingly though innocently. It means not that he bore the penalty of our sins but that the necessity of his death lay not in his own sin, but in that of others. Its purpose is that men should die to sin and live to righteousness. The doctrine of the epistle is in essential

points identical with that of Paul, though less fully and clearly expressed.

- o. The writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews speaks of the sufferings of Iesus as the means of his perfecting, and as accomplishing what the sacrifices faintly symbolized but could never accomplish, the cleansing of the conscience from dead works. This he does in that his blood is the blood of a new covenant, the peculiarity of which is that the law of God is written on the heart. Here are the elements of a doctrine of atonement, but unorganized, because it was no part of the purpose of the epistle to expound a doctrine of atonement. If from these elements we may frame a doctrine, it seems to be that men are brought into reconciliation with God through a faith in Jesus Christ which makes them partakers of his achieved virtue, that virtue which he achieved in his sufferings through the shedding of his blood. Thus he becomes the mediator of a better covenant because there is thus written upon the hearts of men that law of God to which he also learned obedience, and to which they become obedient by that fellowship with him into which they enter by faith.
- ro. The author of the Gospel and the First Epistle of John teaches that Jesus is the propitiation for the sins of the world. It is the mission of Jesus to remove the alienation which sin has created between God and man, and to bring about reconciliation. Strictly speaking, the epistle contains no teaching that the death of Jesus is propitiatory. He is propitiatory and his death is vicarious, but its effectiveness in the reconciliation of men to God is not said to be in that it makes compensation for sins committed, but is rather intimated to be in that it discloses principles of living, which, being principles of God's own life, must become the principle of human lives, in order that they may be reconciled to God, and that it so reveals this principle that they who believe on the Son of God, in whom it is revealed, become partakers of his life.
- II. The Apocalypse.—It is the doctrine of the Book of Revelation that they are acceptable to God who have been cleansed from sin, who are clothed in the fine linen of righteous acts. Men are thus cleansed and purchased unto God to be his people, because of, or through, the blood of the Lamb that was slain; i.e., through participation in that moral life, that attitude toward sin and the world which

Jesus manifested in the laying down of his life. Thus the condition of acceptance by God is ethical, and the death of Jesus has its significance in that it is efficient for the bringing about of this ethical condition.

12. Finally then, no New Testament writer teaches the doctrine that the death of Jesus satisfies a demand of God that sin shall be punished, or is substitutionary in the sense that in it Jesus endures the punishment due to others. The New Testament writers find the significance of his death in its revelation of God's love, in its realization of the ideal of the suffering servant of Jehovah, in its fulfilment of the principle of devotion to the interests of mankind, in accordance with which all men ought to live. In other words, he, through his death, reconciles to God, brings into the favor of God, those who have faith in him, those who become partakers of his life, i. e., follow in his footsteps and adopt his principle of life.

It is the especial thought of Paul that the death of Jesus is a demonstration of the divine disapproval of sin, and as such furnishes a necessary basis for the justification through faith of those who have sinned; and that through his death he brought an end to the reign of statutory law and broke down the wall between Jew and gentile.

It is the especial thought of Hebrews that through his suffering Jesus was made perfect, and that by his offering of himself through the external spirit, he being at once priest and offering, he displaced the old sacrificial system.

It is the special thought of First Peter that the suffering of Jesus innocently, the righteous for the wicked, set for us an example that we should follow.

But these peculiarities in no case amount to contradiction or involve mutually exclusive ideas. The common doctrine of the New Testament is that as sin creates alienation between God and man, making man the object of divine displeasure, so repentance, faith in Jesus, adoption of that principle of life which Jesus exemplified pre-eminently in his death, is the basis of forgiveness and acceptance with God.

HOMILETICS AND CRITICISM: II SAMUEL 21:1-14

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It is not proposed to write a general article under the heading given above, but to use the striking, and from the modern point of view difficult, story as an illustration of the principle involved. It has always been understood that, in expository preaching, homiletics must be based upon exegesis and exegesis preceded by introduction. is, if possible, truer than it was before: in other words, if a minister would now preach a genuine expository discourse on a passage chosen from the Old Testament he must bring to bear upon the particular text thus chosen his whole point of view, that he has gained by careful criticism, concerning the nature of the Hebrew documents and the course of Israel's history. This does not mean that the questions of criticism or introduction are to be directly discussed in the pulpit, but that the background gained by critical study makes itself felt in the treatment of such narrative, prophecy, or poem. In the pages of this journal we may take for granted that preaching of this kind, that is, exposition with a living historical atmosphere, is desirable. There are, of course, other kinds of preaching, but if this is altogether neglected the pulpit will be poorer and the preacher himself will be less completely equipped for his great task.

The passage now before us is chosen to illustrate this kind of exposition, for the very same reason that it has sometimes been avoided, because it seems so remote from our life, and from the standard of conventional orthodoxy is full of difficulties. The present writer sometime ago lectured before a conference of ministers, in which, along with younger men, several were present who had had long and varied experience, and in reply to a question it was stated that no one had ever preached on this subject. The aim of the lecturer was to show that in the hands of reverent believing men modern criticism restores to us the oldest stories and shows that they are full of noble lessons that grow out of the very heart of them and are not

attached to them by any fanciful allegorical treatment. The critical method simply means that we cease to apologize for narratives which, just because they differ so widely from our style of thought and expression, are such a real revelation of men's thoughts and God's ways in a distant age; that we no longer stretch and twist them on our dogmatic rack, but allow them freely to tell their own tale. In this sphere at least the best critical constructive work that we can do is also the best apology. Briefly let us take a specimen of what the old fashioned apologetic can do with such awkward material.¹

- r. It concedes that this is a horrible story. Surely that is a mistake to begin with! The story has a tragic interest, a sad pathos; but there is, in our view, nothing sordid, vulgar, or mean connected with it. These people are face to face with a great perplexity, they find the solution of their difficulty, and though the process is painful they carry out what they regard as a solemn duty. We do not need to go back very far into the history of Christian nations in order to find examples of poor wretches suffering the death penalty for comparatively trivial offenses. We explain that philosophically by saying that society was then dominated too much by the idea of the sacredness of property and thought little of the individual life. If we go still farther back in the same spirit, we recognize that the oneness of the family and clan was "a ruling idea" capable of doing beneficent work even if at times it caused injustice to the individual.
- 2. In reply to the statement that "God did not command this," we must point to the fact that these men in their perplexity turned to the church, consulted the oracle and received an answer which was authoritative for them. "And Yahweh answered, it is for Saul and for his bloody house, etc." When the terrible transaction was completed we are told that "After that God was entreated for the land." To say that the men were mistaken and had no real revelation from God is to empty the story of its spiritual significance. To do this in the name of orthodoxy and in defense of God's honor produces a somewhat ironical situation. He who controls the long course of history scarcely needs that kind of apology.
- 3. Surely it is still worse to suggest that David was moved by political influence and availed himself of this pretext to remove from

² See article on Book of Samuel in Smith's Dictionary, 1863.

his path these sons of Saul. Now we can no longer regard David as the kind of saint that he was pictured to be by the later ages; he was not a saint of the Tewish and mediaeval type; he did not spend all his time in composing psalms and conducting church festivals. But we have too much admiration for the real David to believe him capable of anything so devilish as this. To poison the very sources of justice for personal and political ends; could anything be more vile and malicious? No! David with all his weaknesses was too great a man to stoop to any such meanness. There is a certain poetry of spirit, a magnanimity of temper about Israel's greatest king; it is a very poor exposition of the story that cannot solve its problems without blackening his character. It should not be necessary to insist upon this, but before we indicate the line along which the history can be allowed to speak for itself, it is well to see that the apologetic which proceeds from a strong dogmatic bias is now played out. The ancient methods rendered good service in their day, but while we seek to preserve what is best in them, we must give larger scope to the great idea of historical development or progressive revelation.

There is no need in this case for an elaborate critical discussion; for minute textual discussion we must refer to the commentaries; any point of this kind involved does not affect the broad expository outlines here prescribed. It is evident that the story is a separate fragment preserved in the records of David's life; it does not stand in any definite chronological order, but is found in the appendix. Questions of age and authenticity do not trouble us; all admit that here we have reliable tradition which takes us back to the earliest days of the Israelites' history in Palestine. Our difficulty is altogether with the ideas; with what we would in modern language call the theology of the passage; these men look at God and the world, at things human and divine, in a way quite different from that which prevails now. Surely they had a right to do this; we may have a larger perspective and a better balance of thought, but if our forerunners had not struggled painfully with life's problems and acted vigorously according to the light they possessed we would not have been in such a favorable position. In this spirit then let us look at the narrative.

1. A Primitive Interpretation of Nature.—There is a famine in the

land that causes great distress; this famine is traced to the direct action of God and its cause must be sought for in some definite offense. We are justified in calling this theology primitive, although it still persists and is occasionally preached from our pulpits, because it is one of the earliest forms in which men have attempted to build up a systematic interpretation of God's relation to the world and to human life. A famine in those days was not a mere inconvenience; when means of transportation were very limited it was apt soon to assume tragic proportions. It was quite natural for them to receive such a thing as a direct chastisement from the hand of their God; it was just the other side of the great truth that natural blessings come from Him. There is the beginning of a great truth here but like all other truths of the first rank it must have time to grow and show its manysidedness. We have come now to see that there is scarcely any truth that can be literally carried over from those days to our own. We have read much brilliant nonsense about "the timelessness of Scripture." We cannot now digress into a discussion of allegorical mysticism; but this we know, that the divinest thing clothes itself in the aspect of its own time. If we would find eternal principles we must patiently investigate temporal forms. We cannot accept this interpretation of nature in this precise form. We know too much about the "reign of law," and what we really know is also an oracle of God; we must not conceive of the reign of law as a mere piece of mechanism, but we may contend that, rightly understood, it gives us a larger and juster view of God's action than was possessed by the Hebrews 3,000 years ago. We can apply the thought that is embodied here to our own life; within certain limits. In the middle of the last century Christian teachers and men of science did good work by proclaiming that such visitations as cholera and typhoid were tokens of God's anger, in the sense that they were punishments for neglect of the laws of cleanliness. To make sacrifices and offer prayers was not sufficient propitiation: attention must be paid to the vulgar things, the drains. In that way the spirit of this text can be applied, but we cannot go to the extent of believing that the city that is visited by earthquake or flood is a special object of God's wrath. We have to admit that only in a limited fashion can we moralize the great cosmic forces. Faith has still its burden of mystery to bear.

- 2. A Stern Sense of Justice.—We can easily disentangle the idea of justice from the form in which it is embodied, and then we find that it is a lofty one, in germ at least; one of those great prophetic ideas for which we are indebted to the Hebrew race. Faithfulness is not limited by tribe or sect. Saul in his patriotic zeal had broken the covenant with the Gibeonites and because of the wrong done to a non-Israelite tribe the vengeance of Yahweh had come upon the land. Here in pictorial form we have the thought which comes out so clearly in the teaching of Amos, that the God of Israel values righteousness more than he values Israel's political life. We may say this kind of vicarious suffering is wrong: let a man suffer for his own sin, do not attack the innocent children. We would have on our side such prophets as Jeremiah and Ezekiel, but these men had not reached that individualistic point of view, and we must not judge them from the later and higher standard. In the meantime, leaving them to express their ideas of justice according to the forms of thought in their own age, we concentrate our attention on the idea. Yahweh is the avenger of the broken covenant, even when an alien is one party in the case. time comes when money compensation will not meet the demands; the blood of the firstborn is demanded. If the liberty of the slave on this continent had been purchased by money, even an extravagant price would have been a great economy. But in this world, after things go beyond a certain point they pass out of our control; there is a stern fate that seizes them; there is a tragedy at the heart of things. We must remember that justice is a supreme need of society. If we give the people law instead of justice, quibbles instead of reason, they will rise under the influence of the primal instincts, blood will be shed and it may be innocent blood. History is full of illustrations of this great truth; every preacher can find them for himself. The great lesson is to stop the flood at its source by carrying into our social life and politics this strong sense of justice. The bargain once made should be kept even if we suffer; the first suffering is noblest and best. The treaty should be faithfully observed, even if furious patriotism seeks to set expediency over justice.
- 3. A Magnificent Exhibition of Motherly Love.—Perhaps this poor woman feels that it is unjust for the sons to suffer for the father's mistakes; we cannot be sure of that; these ancient historians do not

revel in psychology after the style of the modern story-teller. Probably the mother accepts the sad fate without reflection of that kind; it is part of the established order of things. In those days it was woman's lot to bear a large share of the human burden and to suffer in silence. Rizpah was a subordinate wife, a piece of Saul's property, she had no high rank and few social rights. She could not spend her time on light amusements; the daily toil consumed her strength; yet we have here a real woman, a typical mother. All she can do is to witness the tragedy with pathetic sorrowful interest and give herself wholly to the last sad duty of protecting the lifeless bodies of her boys. Day and night she watches to keep off the beasts and birds until she is relieved of the sad task; until by kingly authority a decent burial is decreed for those who had suffered for a sin not their own. But we cannot escape from theology even here; the form that the mother's last sad service takes is determined by the belief that unless the body was properly placed in mother earth the soul was not at rest. We may have outgrown that particular belief, but the sentiment, the feeling of it, still remains in our bones and blood, so that we think that the most graceful end of our earthly struggles is to rest under the green sod side by side with our loved ones, in some spot hallowed by family memories and sacred associations. Thus even in this apparently repulsive story from a far-off time we find great ideas that in some form must always play their part in human life. And thus we must testify that there is a grim earnestness, a passionate reality about the way in which these people strive to understand nature as a revelation of God and to carry out with stern conclusiveness the divine will thus dimly made known. Surely they are on the way to something higher and they hand down a legacy which cannot be despised. If we, with our fuller light, have something of their serious determination we will find a presence of God and a divine oracle in the problems and duties of our own day.

WHO WROTE THE BOOK OF THE ACTS?

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Whatever interest one may have in knowing who the writer of any ancient work is, that interest is certainly enhanced when the book presents to us the history of an important period. All other things being equal, a contemporary of the times depicted, a participant in the scenes set forth, or one who is near enough to the principal actors in the events to get first-hand testimony gives us as a historian a surer guarantee of the trustworthiness of the record. It is an interest thus enhanced which insures for the problem of the authorship of the Acts ever recurring discussion. For years the question has been debated. It is not long ago that a large body of scholars abroad decided that the book came from the pen of a second-century writer and was far from trustworthy. In recent years the tide of opinion has been turning, and is now strongly setting toward a first-century authorship. The main reason for this is in our wider and truer knowledge of the Roman Empire and its relations to early Christianity. This better knowledge however, has not stopped all questioning as to authorship, and the inquiry is still in order, "Who wrote the Acts?" Briefly, we are to go over the way which leads to what we believe is a definite and correct answer to that question. Everyone who has carefully read the book knows that in 16:10 we come for the first time upon a "we" in the narrative: "And when he had seen the vision straightway we sought to go forth into Macedonia." Tracing the appearance of this "we" from this point on through the book, it is found recurring in the following sections: 16:11-17; 20:5-17; 21: 1-18; 27:1-28:16. These are the well-known "we-sections" and bear the indubitable marks of the accounts of an eyewitness. They are vivid in description, exact in their reference to localities, circumstantial in details, and conversant with peculiar habits and customs. They come from the pen of a companion of Paul. For a moment, leaving aside the question as to who this companion was, let us use

the sections themselves, to help us in our consideration of the rest of the book. If we have in these sections a real relic of the apostolic age, we have a point of vantage for studying the rest of the book in which they appear. They take very much the same position with reference to the remainder of the Acts that the Tübingen school once, in reference to the whole body of Pauline epistles, gave to Romans, I and II Corinthians, and Galatians which they regarded as alone genuine. They give a basis for comparison. If the hand which wrote the "we-sections" is manifest all through the book, it is but a just conclusion that the companion of Paul is in some way responsible for the whole. Much careful and painstaking work has been done to make evident the unity. The vocabulary and style of the sections have been subjected to minute criticism, as also the vocabulary and style of the rest of the book, and the two have been compared.

Some of the results may here be given, though the full force of the study can be realized only as one goes with a student like Harnack step by step over the whole ground. There are ninety-seven verses in the "we-sections"—about one-tenth of the matter in the whole book. In these there are sixty-seven words² or phrases common to the "we-sections" and the rest of the book. These are for the most part characteristic words. Over against these has been set the large number of words which occur but once. Of these there are one hundred and eleven, but the force of the objection which these seem to substantiate disappears when one considers the subject-matter in which they appear. They are for the most part in the narratives of Paul's voyage and shipwreck.

In addition to the general correspondences in vocabulary, there is evident through the whole book the same general style, i. e., the same general structure of sentence and use of particles. Whoever, then, the author of the "we-sections" may have been, he is the author of the whole book in it present form. The theory which asserts that this author belonged to the second century and left the "we" standing in a document he was using in order to create the impression that he was a companion of Paul, is against all the stylistic phenomena of the sections themselves. There is, however, a wider

¹ See Hawkins, Horae Synopticae, 140-58; Harnack, Luke the Physican.

² See Harnack, op. cit., p. 71.

unity of authorship than between the "we-sections" and the remainder of the Acts, and that is between the Book of Acts and the so-called Gospel of Luke. Here again, patient, exhaustive work has been done in the comparison of the vocabulary and style of the two works, and the evidence is as full and cogent for identity of authorship as between the "we-sections" and the other parts of the Acts. Such facts as these, "that Luke and the Acts have about two hundred words in common which are wanting in the other gospels;" that in the "wesections" there are at least sixty-four words and phrases which are found in the Gospel of Luke and are wanting in Matthew, Mark, and John,³ and that similar characteristics mark both books, cannot easily be set aside. Even those who do not admit the Lukan authorship of the Acts acknowledge the identity of the writer of both books.4 It falls within the province of a later paper to discuss the trustworthiness of the Acts, but it is sufficient to say here that a clearer conception of the writer's method as a historian,5 and a truer knowledge of the situation of the church within the Roman world than we once possessed have done much to meet the objections which have been brought against the possibility of authorship by a companion of Paul.

Up to this point we have used the general phrase "a companion of Paul." We are now ready for the more specific question, "who was this companion" who wrote the "we-sections" and the rest of the book? Among those who were with the apostle only four can be thought of as possible claimants, and each has had defenders. They are Timothy, Silas, Titus, and Luke. A word about each of the first three will suffice.

Timothy is shut out by the way in which his name stands related to the "we" in 20:5, 6. He was among those who "had gone before and were waiting for us at Troas." The same objection holds against Silas (see 15:22). Furthermore, he was, as far as the record goes, not with Paul in the third missionary journey. Titus is not once mentioned in the whole book, and this has led to the supposition that he was the author of it. Why, then, did early tradition so persistently attribute the work to Luke? He and Titus cannot be the

³ See Harnack, op. cit., pp. 103, 78.

⁴ See Davidson, Introduction, Vol. II, p. 145; McGiffert, Apostolic Age, p. 433.

⁵ See Ramsay, St. Paul, chap. i.

same, for II Tim. 4:10 carefully distinguishes them. "Titus is gone to Dalmatia; only Luke is with me." It is more likely that the name of Titus is not found in the book because he was a relative of Luke.

By a process of exclusion we thus come to the name of Luke, and the following evidence tends to the support of his claim.

- I. The testimony of tradition.—The Muratorian Canon (170-80 A. D.), the earliest document containing a list of the books of the New Testament, ascribes both the Acts and the Third Gospel to Luke. From all parts of the church at the close of the second century this witness was seconded. Irenaeus, who speaks for Asia Minor, Rome, and Gaul, Clement of Alexandria, for Egypt, and Tertullian, for the African church, all consider Luke the author. Indeed, it may be said that until the close of the ninth century this was the general opinion. Whatever may be the value of all this testimony viewed by itself, it certainly strongly corroborates a judgment in Luke's favor gained from the study of internal evidence. Nor can we make it well apply to some unknown Luke on the ground that Luke was a common name. The Muratorian Canon speaks of the Luke who was a physician, taking its description probably from Col. 4:14, and this leads us to the second support of Luke's claim, viz:
- 2. The medical phraseology of both the Gospel of Luke and the Acts. As this has an important bearing upon the whole matter it is worthy of a few moments' consideration. The subject is fully treated in Hobart's well-known book, The Medical Language of St. Luke. Now it is not simply in the use of medical terms, nor in the presentation of cases of healing that the surest evidence for the pen of a physican is found in these narratives, but rather, it is in the way in which medical terms are used. The accounts show medical insight and a familiarity with the physician's point of view. A few instances will illustrate. In Acts 28:8 he speaks of the "feverish symptoms" and the "bloody flux" afflicting the father of Publius (Acts 28:8). In the case of the cripple in the Temple he uses the technical word $\beta \acute{a}\sigma \epsilon \iota s$ instead of $\pi \acute{o}\delta \epsilon s$. He describes Peter's condition in 10:10 as an $\check{\epsilon} \kappa \sigma \tau a \sigma \iota s$. The girl at Philippi is not possessed of a demon, the ordinary way of describing such cases, but she has "a spirit of Python,"

⁶ See McGiffert, Apostolic Age, p. 433.

i. e., she exhibited symptoms like the "convulsive movements and wild cries of the Pythian priestess at Delphi" (Acts 16:16).

These are but a few of the instances that reveal the diagnosis of a physician. And the accounts in which they occur are in their whole general character confirmative of this. It is interesting to note how parallel accounts in Mark have their descriptions varied by the introduction in Luke of the more exact medical terms. So familiar is he with the language of medicine that it colors his diction when matters not specifically medical are concerned. He is at home in this field of service. His training as a physician also helps to explain the excellent quality of his work as a historian. He was a man of education; the mental discipline which had fitted him for his profession gave him the grasp and discernment shown in his method. As he saw where he could improve upon the various attempts which had been made to frame a gospel, so he saw how he could best set forth the development of the church in its progress from Jerusalem to Rome. And this all helps us to see how he was able to give us what constitutes a third support of his claim.

3. His portrait of Paul.—However deep his interest in the earlier history of the missionary movements in the church, the author finds his hero in Paul. There was that in the great apostle which fastened his attention and quickened his affection. He lets us see this devoted preacher and teacher in all the strength and breadth of his personality. It is no general indefinite picture which he gives of him. It is a veritable portrait, sufficiently detailed and individualized to reveal close personal acquaintance, and yet so presented as to make clear how well he understood the spirit of the man. It is the Paul of the epistles, many-sided, quick in sympathy, strong in purpose, adaptable, and unwearying in zeal. It is no idle surmise which sees in the relationship of Luke to Paul not only that of friendship, but of a friendship deepened and made tender by that watchful and helpful care which a physician can give. A man's relation to his doctor becomes especially intimate when, under such circumstances as Paul and Luke were together, the one is in need of wise medical care, and the other finds it his highest joy to give it. And it is no forced reflection of that intimacy which shows us in some of the later Pauline epistles figures of speech which Paul himself adopted from a physician's vocabulary.

Certain it is that no second-century writer could have given us the portrait of Paul found in the Acts. As has been truthfully said,

No one has yet been able to draw a convincing portrait of St. Paul from his epistles alone. All attempts in this direction have led to productions which true historians have ignored. For these the portrait given in the Acts of the Apostles has always remained a concurring factor, because the abundance of actual fact which is therein afforded still makes it possible to pass behind the external action to the inward motive.

Considerations like these—lines of testimony so positive—converge upon Luke as the one who meets most clearly the demands of the authorship of this history. A companion of Paul, a physician, and one who has given us a living portrait—who can this be but the one whom tradition has declared him to be—Luke "the beloved physician?"

Apart from what Acts makes known to us, we have but scanty notices of the author's life. Tradition makes him a native of Antioch, but this is very doubtful. Eusebius says that he was "according to birth of those from Antioch,"7 which probably means no more than that his family was in some way connected with Antioch. A much more likely supposition as to his birthplace is that which makes him a native of Philippi. In Acts 16:12 he seems to be quietly upholding it as against the rival cities of Thessalonica and Amphipolis, and it is at Philippi that he abides when Paul and Silas go to Thessalonica (Acts 17:1; 20:4-5). He may have been "the man of Macedonia" calling Paul to go on over to that land. His name appears only in three places in the New Testament, Col. 4:14, Phil., vs. 24, and II Tim. 4:11. In the first of these he is so introduced as to separate him from "those of the circumcision," and he was therefore a Gentile. His profession and general attitude toward Christianity confirm this. In Philemon he is called Paul's fellow-worker, and whatever his value to Paul as a physician, he undoubtedly endeared himself to the heart of the apostle by his earnest sympathy and co-operation in the arduous work of the missionary journeys. While carrying on this work he used his time to gather material for the instruction of Theophilus, and his own testimony to his carefulness—"by investigation I have kept abreast of the latest information" (Luke 1:3)—is estab-

⁷ Hist. Eccles., III, 4.

lished by a critical study of the books he has given us. It does not fall within the bounds of this paper to discuss the sources he used or the method he has chosen. It is sufficient to say that he has used them with that skill and insight which his experience and training made possible. Theophilus is no fiction of the imagination. He was probably a Gentile of noble rank who earnestly desired to know with some fulness the historic foundations of his faith. The satisfaction of his desire has been the enrichment of the church in all ages through a gospel and a history. Outside of the three passages to which we have above referred, such further knowledge of our author as the New Testament gives, may be found in the "we-sections." As with the names of all the other leading figures in the New Testament story, tradition has been busy with the story of Luke. He is said to have been a painter of no mean ability. Whether this be so or not it is true that art has found continual inspiration in his gospel and in scenes from the Acts. We are told that he had neither wife nor children. He died, according to one account, peacefully in his old age: according to another, a martyr's death. It is enough for us to know that he served faithfully and helpfully with Paul, and gave to us an invaluable portion of our New Testament.

WHY WAS ACTS WRITTEN?

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If one should undertake to write the story of the early years of the Christian church without making use of the Book of Acts, he would speedily realize with new and vivid force, its central importance as a source for early church history. No other writing even pretends to cover the same field. Because of its character and importance it must ever remain one of our most precious and interesting literary possessions.

It may not at once be assumed that since it constitutes the sole narrative document from the Apostolic age of the church it gives a complete account of the development of the church in the period it describes. On the contrary, its story is very incomplete. It is obvious to any but the most casual reader of Acts that there are great gaps in its record. The writer moves with rapid strides along the way which the church had taken before him. Some parts and phases of the history, it is true, are narrated with considerable fulness. Yet generally speaking it is but a sketch. Careful reading soon convinces one that this sketchiness is due not so much to scarcity of material as to selection from the material at hand. The author of Acts in writing his history did not exhaust his available sources. He used only so much of his material as was to the purpose in hand. What was that purpose? This question it is our task to answer.

We may best begin our study by getting clearly before us the scope

¹ This is especially true of Paul's experiences during his last journey to Jerusalem and his arrest and imprisonment, chaps. 20-27.

² This suggests to us the problem of the sources which underlie our present Book of Acts. That the author made use of written sources is suggested both by the internal evidence of the book itself and by the preface of the companion writing, the Gospel of Luke. His sources were not all of equal value. Even Ramsay, St. Paul, the Traveller and Roman Citizen, p. 367, who rates the writer as such a great historian, holds that in the early chapters especially some material passed muster which was of inferior quality. But this perplexing question is not a part of our present task.

of the material of which the author actually made use. What is the history that he has recorded?

By its opening sentence the book purports to be a continuation of a "first treatise" which is easily identified as our Gospel of Luke. It refers to this former treatise as a record of that "which Jesus began to do and teach until the day that he was received up," i. e., the day of his ascension (Acts 1:2; cf. Luke 24:51). This sentence implies another to balance its thought, but the writer never penned it. It should have indicated the scope and purpose of the second treatise. It is implied, however, that the Book of Acts is to continue the story of the former treatise and is to be a record of the activity of Iesus after his receiving up, or ascension. It is further suggested that he is to be represented in this work by "the apostles whom he had chosen" and to whom he had spoken "of the things pertaining to the kingdom of God" and "had given commandment." According to Acts 10:36 and 13:24 the work of John the Baptist, Jesus, and the apostles is a continuity. The history recorded in Luke and Acts is a unit. The apostles are to abide at Terusalem and await the coming of the Spirit whom Jesus is to send (Acts 1:4, 8; 2:33; cf. Luke 24:48, 49) to qualify them for their work. They are further told that the scope of their activity is to be from Jerusalem throughout all Judea³ and Samaria unto the "uttermost part of the earth." The evidence seems ample that the writer intends to say that the task of the Apostles was to carry the gospel from Jerusalem throughout Palestine and gentile territory to Rome. At any rate the story of just such expansion is that which Acts records. It falls most naturally into parts which

³ In Acts 9:31 Judea is used in the narrow sense of the single province. It usually signifies in Luke and Acts the whole territory of Palestine except Samaria. See Luke 1:5; 4:44; 7:17; 23:5; Acts 10:37, 39; 11:1. It has the wider significance here. Note "all Judea." Josephus (Ant. I, 7:2), writing in the period of the composition of Acts, expressly states that the land anciently called Canaan was then known as Judea.

4 This phrase may mean only a far distant land (cf. Luke 11:31). But the Psalms of the Pharisees (circa 50 B. C.) speak (8:16) of Pompey who captured Palestine for the Romans as having come from the "utmost part of the earth." The expression is precisely the one used here. This suggests Rome as here in the mind of the writer. The suggestion is further corroborated by the fact that Acts closes so abruptly when the gospel has been carried to Rome. Compare also the expression "limit of the west," probably referring to Rome, in the first Epistle of Clement (circa. 95 A. D.) 5:7.

correspond approximately to such an outline.⁵ The first seven chapters deal with the life and development of the church in Jerusalem. Near the close of this period the preaching of Stephen prepares for a period of church expansion. This is carried out through the work of various individuals. Philip becomes the evangelist to the alien Samaritans⁶ and also preaches the gospel to the eunuch, an alien and a proselyte. Peter under the direction of a heavenly vision carries the gospel to Caesarea, the gentile capital7 of Palestine. By the disciples who were scattered abroad from Jersualem because of persecution, the gospel was carried to Antioch (11:10-21), the third city of the Roman Empire in importance⁸ and the center of gentile life⁹ nearest Palestine. Under the preaching of Barnabas and Paul, whose preparation for the task has already been detailed in chap. o. the work is thoroughly established in Antioch and this city becomes the new center of the church in gentile territory. This account extends through chap. 12. Paul and Barnabas then carry the work over into Asia Minor. They here establish a number of churches-in

⁵ Julicher, Introduction to the New Testament, p. 436, divides the book into two parts: (1) "The Primitive Community and Palestinian Mission with Peter as Leader," chaps. 1–13; (2) "The Gentile Extension of the Gospel from Antioch to the Ends of the Earth, with Paul as Leader." chaps. 14–28; McGiffert, The Apostolic Age, pp. 345 f., makes four divisions: (1) "The Early Church in Jerusalem," chaps. 1–7; (2) "Expansion through Philip, Peter, Barnabas, and Paul," chaps. 8–14; (3) "Missionary Career of Paul," chaps. 15:1–21:6; (4) "Paul's Arrest and Imprisonment, 21:27 to end of Acts.

⁶ Cf. John 4:9; 8:48; Matt. 9:56; Luke 9:51, 56. See also Sirach 50:25, 26: "With two nations is my soul vexed and the third is no nation; they that sit upon the mountain of Samaria, the Philistines, and that foolish people that dwelleth in Sichem."

⁷ Acts 23:23, 24; 24:1; 25:15. See also Peter's defense of his action in Acts, chap. 11, and especially the statement 11:18: "Then to the gentiles also God hath granted repentance unto life." Josephus, War, iii, 9:1, says Caesarea was "for the greatest part inhabited by Greeks."

8 Josephus, War, iii, 2:4.

o The question as to those to whom the gospel was first preached in Antioch is perplexing. The preponderance of textual evidence is heavily in favor of reading "Grecian Jews." The context requires the reading "Greeks." Westcott and Hort read the former but regard it as a "primitive error." Chase, The Credibility of Acts, pp. 81 ff., states that to read "Greeks" would make the author contradict his own statement in vs. 19. His statement is incorrect. Those of vs. 19 and vs. 20 are expressly distinguished from each other by the form of sentence. Chase would reconstruct the text by inserting after $\ell\lambda d\lambda o\nu\nu$ in vs. 20 the words κal $\sigma \nu \nu \epsilon \zeta h \tau o\nu\nu$, and read "spake and reasoned with the Greeks." He compares with this Acts 9:29 and 18:25.

gentile territory. Their progress is then delayed until they secure from the leaders of the church in Jerusalem recognition of the validity and divine approval of the gentile mission, and arrangements for the further unrestricted extension of the work. This carries us through chap, 15:35. From this point on to the close of the book we have the story of the extension of the church in gentile lands, accomplished despite the prejudice and opposition of both Tews and gentiles. Under the persecution of the Jews Paul, the greatest leader of the gentile mission, is arrested and brought before the Roman authorities. Notwithstanding their bitterness and clamor for his life he is transferred to Caesarea for safekeeping. Here he appeals to Caesar. Because of this he is taken as a prisoner to Rome to appear before the emperor. Having reached Rome he calls his countrymen together and to them preaches the gospel. They will not receive it. He turns his attention to the gentiles, to whom, it is implied, he preaches about two years. The gospel has been carried from Jerusalem, the metropolis of the Jews, to Rome, the metropolis of the nations. What object had the author in mind in the narration of this development?

There are those who consider the chief interest to be biographical. 10 It is obvious enough that the work of carrying the gospel as recorded has been quite largely that of two men, Peter and Paul. But there is hardly sufficient evidence to say that they were the chief interest of the writer. The way in which the narrative overlaps in chaps. 9-12 is not consistent with this conception. Even if we allow that our canons of historical and biographical writing are not to be too rigidly imposed upon the writer of Acts, he can hardly have failed to have kept more distinct the lives and activities of his two chief characters. Nor can we believe that both of them would have been dropped so abruptly if the author was mainly concerned with an account of their lives. We must believe that an interest more fundamental than this was in his mind. Their work dovetailed in the promotion of this larger interest. When they ceased to be of significance in promoting it there was no reason why they should any longer be kept in view.

ro Ramsay, St. Paul, etc., pp. 20 ff., thinks that one of the chief aims was to glorify Paul: "His general aim is to describe the development of the church; but his affection and interest turn to Paul, and after a time his narrative groups itself around Paul."

Ramsay has in various writings laid great emphasis upon the fact that the writer of Acts is "a historian of the first rank." He suggests that his historical sympathy has led him to record the facts because he thought they were in themselves worthy of attention and conveyed a great lesson. Rackham, The Acts of the Apostles, p. xxxvii, believes the leading motive of Acts was historical, i. e., it was the desire to preserve the remembrance of great deeds. Such a collection was not needed, he thinks, in the early years of the church but was a need of later years when most of the eye witnesses of the events had passed away." But if the main purpose in writing was merely to preserve and recount the great deeds of the past the writer would scarcely have made such an incomplete record. Instead of a full account in which events are recorded for their own sake and left to speak their own message, choice is made of such events and details as will best contribute to the result of showing a particular trend of events.

What is the trend of events which it is desired to show? It may be partly true that "the plan of the book has been obscured by reason of proper climax and conclusion being wanting." Certainly it is beyond question that Acts gives one the impression of being left in the air. It is almost as if one were interrupted in the middle of a sentence. It was commonly said by older writers that the book was written at a time when there was nothing more to record. Such writers dated it at the end of Paul's two-years' stay in Rome. But nowadays scholars are not wont to date it so early. The old explanation does not avail. More recent attempts to explain this abrupt ending are various.¹² The sufficient reason is a simple one. That which is actually shown is how Christianity expanded from a sect

¹¹ But see the preface to Luke's Gospel for the suggestion that it was written while many eye witnesses were still living.

¹² Ramsay, St. Paul, etc., p. 351, says, "No one can accept the ending of Acts as the conclusion of a rationally conceived history. Such an ending might exist in a diary but not in a history." He thinks not only for this reason, but also because of the use of $\pi\rho\hat{\omega}\tau\sigma\nu$ "first" instead of $\pi\rho\delta\tau\epsilon\rho\sigma\nu$ in Acts 1:1 (op. cit., p. 27) that the writer contemplated a third treatise which would connect with this and would carry the narrative to a finished conclusion. For a strong criticism of this view see McGiffert, A postolic Age, p. 418, note. Rackham, The Acts of the A postles, p. xxxviii, explains the abrupt ending by saying, "The Acts is a history of the new dispensation [of the Spirit]; and that is why it lacks definite conclusion. These twenty-eight chapters are but the beginning: we are still living under the dispensation of the Spirit."

within Judaism, with its headquarters at Jerusalem, to a universal religion firmly planted in the imperial city of the empire. When this was shown the writer's work was done, his purpose was accomplished. He had undertaken to show that under the leadership of the Divine Spirit the apostles and evangelists had been used to bear the gospel to the "end of the earth." The expansion which the book professedly set itself to narrate was territorial. But this territorial expansion involved also logical expansion. Not only was it the growth of the church from Jerusalem to Rome but also growth from the narrowest particularism to true universalism. This expansion had not been due to the settled policy of the apostles and teachers, but was the result of a chain of events divinely caused and executed in spite of opposition from every source.

Peter begins his ministry by announcing the promise to Israel and those that were afar off (Acts 2:30; 3:26; 5:31). He and his fellow-workers met opposition from the rulers (4:1-3; 11:27; 5:17, 18) but they continued to obey God in the preaching of the gospel (4: 19; 5:29). God was in the movement as Gamaliel indicated (5: 38, 39) and therefore the number of disciples steadily grew (2:41, 47; 4:17; 5:11, 14; 6:7). Stephen, a man full of the Holy Spirit (6:5, 10), was accused by the Jews of breaking the bands of Jewish custom and law (6:13, 14) and he declares to them that Tews had always been stubborn and rebellious against the truth (7:51). It was the persecution in connection with Stephen that sent the gospel to Samaria (8:5 ff.) and to the eunuch (8:26 ff., 40). It was because of a specific heavenly message through a vision that Peter preached to Cornelius (10:28, 34 ff.; cf. 11:12, 17, 18) and defended his doing so on such ground. Persecution sent men to Antioch with the gospel (II:10 ff.) where a church was founded. Herod persecuted the church (12:1) but he died in misery and the gospel spread on (12:24).

Paul, while leading in the persecution of the church, is converted (9:3 ff.) and begins to preach Jesus as Christ (9:20-22, 28, 29). From the beginning he is told that he is to be a special messenger to the gentiles (9:15, 16; cf. 22:17-21) as well as to Jews. Paul and Barnabas are sent out by the Holy Spirit into a new mission into gentile territory (13:2, 4). Paul preached Jesus as Christ to Jews, and God-fearing gentiles (13:26, 38; 14:2; 17:3, 7; 18:4, 28).

When he went up to the council at Jerusalem, he and Barnabas related how God had opened a door of faith to the gentiles (14:27; 15:12; cf. 21:19). Peter also reminded the council of his experience in the same way (15:7-11), and James said that a gathering of disciples from the gentiles was according to prophecy (15:13-19). The council then decided that the apostles' work among the gentiles should be encouraged (15:23-29).

By the Holy Spirit Paul was directed to Troas when he would have gone elsewhere (16:6–8) that he might extend the gospel still farther, and in spite of opposition the word spread and prevailed (19:20). It later became the will of the Lord that Paul should go to Rome (19:21; 20:22–24; 23:11; 27:24; cf. 21:10–14), and this he did in spite of all opposition, for God delivered him from "the people, and from the gentiles;" that he might preach to them the gospel (26:16–18; cf. 9:23, 24; 26:23, 24). As Harnack, Expansion of Christianity, Vol. I, p. 54, note, says, "The description of the transition from the Jewish to the gentile mission is the main object of the Book of Acts."

It is a record of that which Jesus continued to do and teach after he was received up, "a history" of the power of God in the apostles." The gospel was offered to the Jews but they rejected it and thereby lost their opportunity. In consequence of their rejection of it it was offered to the gentiles who accepted it."

To whom and in what way was this story of gospel expansion intended to be of significance?

13 The question of the authenticity of the history need not detain us. We are not to decide either the accuracy of single events nor the question as to their proper consecution. We can agree neither with those who regard the writer as indifferent to the truth of his account so long as it served his purpose, nor with others, Ramsay in particular, who consider him such a supreme historical genius. Jülicher, Int., etc., p. 435, is not far from the truth when he says: "He seems an industrious collector hampered by insufficient material, but desiring to tell his story impartially." Jülicher's discussion, pp. 436-41, seems to me on the whole very sensible. But some of his statements are very arbitrary. He thinks (p. 445) that Stephen's position "is inconceivable only as the hard won result of Paul's lifelong labors." Why might not Stephen have had a vision of the truth as well as Paul? If Stephen must have Paul as spiritual forbear, to whom shall Paul go? Or must God speak to but one?

· 14 This sounds like the argument of Paul in Romans 9-11. It may be, as Chase thinks, that to Paul we owe the conception of Acts. Certainly it was written by a firm believer in Pauline Christianity and one also acquainted with the argument by which Paul supported his conception of the gospel.

It is asserted by McGiffert, The Apostolic Age, pp. 343 ff., and Ramsay, St. Paul, pp. 303-10, that the main purpose was to show that Christianity, wherever it had come into contact with Roman authorities, had been shown to their entire satisfaction to be harmless. Paul, the great hero of the gospel, had been treated with leniency because he was deserving of such treatment. They think it was written in the time of Domitian and was intended as an appeal to the Roman government for leniency in treatment of Christians. With this conception agree also in part Rackham, who calls it "a subordinate motive," and Bartlet, Biblical World, Vol. XIX, p. 276, who thinks it "one main occasion." There is some material in Acts that seems to support such a position. When brought before Gallio by the Jews, Paul was about to make his defense, the proconsul interrupted and said to the Jews that if it were a wrong or wicked deed he would hear them; but it was only a question of words and names and he would not be bothered in such matters (Acts 18:14, 15; cf. 10:37-40). So also in effect speak the Roman officials in Acts 23:29; 24:23, 27; 25:18, 25; 26:31, 32. See also 23:10; 25:2 ff.; cf. 23:30; 24:23. But the amount of material not pertinent to this purpose renders it extremely improbable as a sufficient explanation. And even Ramsay considers that the idea involves the release of Paul from the first imprisonment. Certainly if he were not released the argument would lose nearly all its significance. But if the writer had such a purpose in view and knew that Paul was released he most assuredly could not have failed to mention it.

There is quite as much evidence to support the view that the book was addressed to Jewish readers. The last argumentative statement of the book (Acts 28:17-28) asserts that inasmuch as the Jews will not receive the gospel, as was foretold by Isaiah, the prophet, "This salvation of God is sent to the gentiles, and they will receive it." With this also agree such statements as those found in 13:46, 48; 18:6. There is much plausibility in an attempt to place Acts along with the gospel of Matthew. Their common purpose would be to show to the Jews that the gospel was, when rightly conceived, universal in character and that they had lost their opportunity by rejecting it when it was offered them. Certainly there is as good ground for this view as the one just previously mentioned.

But if we allow that either or both of these apologetic motives may be found in Acts, we must still insist that the apologetic purpose is subordinate to the practical. The first words of the book connect it with the gospel of Luke. Whether at the time of the writing of the gospel the second work was already planned must probably remain unanswered. 15 However that may be, the first is in the mind of the writer when he begins the second work and the manner of referring to it seems to connect the second with the first in respect of purpose. It is dedicated to the same person, Theophilus, apparently a man of considerable prominence and probably of high rank. 16 It is intended to establish them in the true faith by giving them to know "the certainty concerning those things wherein" they had been instructed. It reveals the true nature of Christianity by narrating the story of its expansion under the leadership of the Divine Spirit. Despite the prejudice and opposition of apostle, evangelist, Jew and gentile the gospel had been carried from Jerusalem to Rome; it had under divine leadership expanded from a provincial Jewish confession to the universalism of Pauline Christianity. The latter was the true interpretation of the gospel. The history of the church affirmed it. Having thus shown the divine origin of the Pauline conception of the gospel, the author of Acts would establish in this true faith the fellow Christians addressed. Acts was written that fellow Christians might believe that Pauline Christianity was the true conception of the gospel, and that so believing they might continue to abide therein.

¹⁵ Rackham thinks the preface of the gospel belongs both to it and to Acts; so also Chase. Jülicher is of the opposite opinion.

¹⁶ See Acts 23:26; 24:36; 26:25. Cf. Ramsay, op. cit., p. 388. Rackham, p. xxxvii, considers "it is possible that, like John Bunyan, in Pilgrim's Progress, Luke is really addressing, not an individual, but the Christian as such, under the guise of 'Theophilus' or 'Lover of God.'"

THE FIRST CHRISTIAN COMMUNITY

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It is a well-known fact that some of Jesus' followers recovered from the shock of his death and reassembled under the reviving influence of belief in his resurrection. In its early days this company included, among others, the faithful eleven, certain women, and some of Jesus' immediate relatives, in all about one hundred and twenty persons (Acts 1:14 f.). These must soon have been joined by others, for at a very early date the number was upward of five hundred (I Cor. 15:5-7). It is this growing assembly, particularly as described in the first five chapters of Acts, to which the designation "First Christian Community" is here applied.

No first-hand information regarding these primitive days in the history of the church has come down to us. Would that some member of the community—Peter or John or one of Jesus' relatives—had left an autographic account of the period! But this has not been done, and we must glean as best we can such information as the secondary sources supply, and even this is comparatively meager in extent. Nevertheless we may approach the narrative of Acts, chaps. I-5, which is almost our sole authority for the period, with the assurance that, save for its brevity, the information there given is fairly reliable.

A word regarding the author and his historical situation may aid us in estimating the value of his testimony and in understanding its significance. On the basis of statements in Luke 1:3 and Acts 1:1 it is evident that the same person wrote both the Third Gospel and the Book of Acts, and tradition has commonly called him Luke, the companion of Paul (Col. 4:14; II Tim. 4:11; Philem. 24). Whether this tradition is true or not, the author was evidently one who had no personal touch with the primitive community, and who wrote up its history perhaps sixty or more years after the occurrence of the events; but he testifies that he piously purposed to write

accurately, and with this end in view had investigated the facts so far as he deemed it necessary and so far as means of information were available (Luke 1:1-4). Indeed scholars find evidence that he had early sources, either written or oral, or perhaps both, which he incorporated in his narrative; yet it must be granted that he worked all his source material over from his own point of view, placing his own interpretation upon it after the manner of every sincere historian, and he did this not in order to pervert the truth but to make it more emphatic to his most excellent Theophilus. Thus we are to see the life of the early Christians through the eyes of this later historian, the author of Acts. Sometimes the question may arise, Does the author's point of view ever differ from that of his source? Is the significance of an incident different for him and for the community, and may it be still further different for us? In a study of this sort one ought always to be on the alert, first, to find out just what the author means to tell his readers, then to discover whether any distinction is to be drawn between the original event and his interpretation of it, and further to note the significance of the event for the community.

The initial period in the community's life extended from Jesus' first resurrection appearance to Pentecost, an interval of seven weeks. Acts covers this in a single chapter which falls into four sections: vss. 1–5, 6–11, 12–14, 15–26. The opening paragraph is recapitulatory, recalling the attention of Theophilus to facts already presented in the gospel: the appearances of Jesus, his association with the disciples and separation from them, and his command that they tarry in Jerusalem (Luke 24:13–51). In Acts the appearances are made to continue for the space of forty days while the gospel record seems to include only those of the day of resurrection.

The second section deals with a single incident. On a certain occasion when Jesus was with them the disciples asked if the Israelites were soon to be delivered from the yoke of the heathen and to have their own nation exalted to a position of world empire. They were told that it is not for them to know the time, that meanwhile they are to evangelize and when the time for miraculous interference in the world-order arrives they will see a vision similar to Daniel's (Dan. 7: 13 f.) in which the one who appears on the clouds will be this same

Jesus who has left them. Just where the incident thus recorded belongs in point of time is uncertain. Sometimes it is assumed to have fallen near the end of the forty days, while others think it to be a more detailed account of the event mentioned in Luke 24: 50-52, which took place on the evening of the day Jesus arose from the dead. The latter is more probable. The opening clause of vs. 6 does not state any definite time at which they came together, while the question they asked is one of the first that would spring to the disciples' lips as their faith in the risen Tesus began to be interpreted (cf. Luke 24:21). The question was prompted by Jesus' command to remain in Jerusalem until the gift of the spirit was received, from which they inferred that this would be the time when the kingdom would be restored, and since the promise of the spirit was the reason for the sojourn in Jerusalem (cf. Luke 24:49) it must have occurred at the beginning of the period. But are we not to assume that the so-called ascension took place on the fortieth day, after which the appearances of Jesus ceased, and that Acts 1:9 records this event? In addition to the reasons already given for assigning this part of Acts to an earlier date, is the lack of convincing authority for speaking of the Ascension as distinct from other occasions when Jesus, after one of his post-resurrection appearances, had vanished from the disciples' vision. Paul knows no such event, nor can his catalogue of appearances be confined within a forty-day period (I Cor. 15:5-8); the First Gospel is silent upon the point, and though the Fourth Gospel differentiates the idea of ascension it places it soon after the resurrection, at least before the eighth day, if permission to touch Jesus is to be taken as any evidence (John 20:17, 27). Moreover Acts 1:2 states that "he was received up" after he had commanded the apostles to remain in Jerusalem, and then goes on (vs. 3) to speak of appearances which presumably occurred subsequently. The choice of a successor to Judas took place after Jesus was "received up" (Acts 1:22), but it may have fallen near the beginning since the narrative places it in no definite time, but only in "these days" (vs. 15); and if the appearances had ceased when the brethren as yet numbered only about one hundred and twenty (Acts 1:15) how could Paul have mentioned an appearance to above five hundred brethren at once, declaring also that most of those who had witnessed the vision were

still alive (I. Cor. 15:6)? No doubt the first disciples were at one in their belief in the heavenly exaltation of Jesus, but there is no evidence of any such uniformity of opinion regarding the theory of a forty-day interim between his resurrection and exaltation.

Vss. 12-14 introduce the reader to the inner circle of the company in Jerusalem, while vss. 15-26 describe in greater detail an early incident in their life, the election of a successor to Judas. Though the author has added explanatory remarks for the benefit of his gentile readers (e.g., vss. 18 f. and possibly vs. 20), the true Jewish coloring of the primitive life has been preserved. The usual place of assembly was "the upper room." Perhaps it was here that Jesus and the Twelve had eaten the last supper, and this room may have been in the house of Mary the mother of Mark (Acts 12:12). Just when the disciples first reassembled in Jerusalem is uncertain. Matthew 28:16 f. (cf. Mark 16:7) makes Galilee the scene of the first gathering, but the third evangelist gives no hint either in the gospel or in Acts of a return to Galilee, and in fact seems to reject the idea (Luke 24:7). The instruction given on the first day in Luke 24:49 requires that all (vs. 33) remain in Jerusalem until Pentecost, and there is nowhere any intimation in Luke-Acts that they were disobedient. John says nothing of a Galilean visit except in the so-called appendix (chap. 21). Since John 21:3 shows the disciples returning to their former occupations, probably, if representing any original incident, it is really another witness for the early return to Galilee. Under these circumstances it is impossible to determine how long a time the disciples spent in Jerusalem before Pentecost. Items of geography and chronology were so insignificant in comparison with the all-engrossing content of their new hope that these minor matters received slight attention, consequently even as early as the close of the first century uniform tradition regarding these details was not available.

That which is of chief religious significance in this early period is the disciples' faith in their risen and ascended Lord. During Jesus' earthly career they had listened to his words and heeded his bidding without possessing any vigorous religious life of their own. Rather indifferently had they witnessed his struggle on the last night of his earthly life (Mark 14:32-42), not only failing to realize for themselves

that vital experience which he desired to have them feel, but failing utterly to appreciate in any sympathetic way the significance of his experience. Their hour was not vet come. Not until the shadow of the cross fell upon them did they begin to awake to the situation. In the days which followed, their whole religious thinking came to have a new content as their confidence in the resurrection of Jesus became confirmed. Religion was no longer a matter of mere external relations; it came to rest fundamentally upon personal trust, supported by faith in the resurrection and exaltation of Tesus. The externals, with some of the old emphasis too, were still retained, but superior to all this was their inner religious awakening brought about by their recent experiences. They now had a firm religious conviction that their lost cause had become one of assured triumph because their Master now sat upon God's right hand. While succeeding generations have not always been able to accept the primitive ideas regarding the way in which that triumph was to be manifested—through Jesus' return upon the clouds and the accompanying miraculous display they have continued to emulate this early confidence in God as revealed to men in the life and ministry of Jesus. Religiously the first disciples were new men when they saw the Lord, and the reviving power of such a vision has not yet grown ineffective.

Pentecost marked a new epoch in the life of the community. Two events of great importance then occurred: the descent of the spirit (Acts 2:1-21) and the beginning of public preaching (Acts 2:22-41). The first of these, according to the writer of Acts, resulted in the miraculous ability to speak foreign languages. The gift of tongues was not an uncommon phenomenon in New Testament times, but only here is it given the mechanical instead of the religious interpretation. The Corinthians were experts in the use of this gift, yet Paul claimed still greater proficiency for himself (I Cor. 14:18). Since he professed to be a master in the art we may look to him to tell us its significance, especially since he devotes a whole chapter to the subject (I Cor., chap. 14). "Tongues" is a charismatic endowment but of only secondary worth, for no man understandeth the utterance (vss. 2, 19) not even the one uttering it (vs. 14). Those within the church regard these incomprehensible ejaculations as evidence of true religious ecstasy, but as of no value for the edification

of the brethren unless someone in a normal condition can furnish an interpretation of the ecstatic's actions (vs. 28); while the unbeliever interprets the demonstration as an evidence of madness (vs. 23). Therefore Paul discourages the cultivation of such unintelligible emotional displays in favor of the edifying exhortation of the prophet, in order that all things might be done "decently and in order" (vss. 30 f.). Hence it would seem that the author of Acts misunderstood the phenomenon, as he well might have done if he had no personal acquaintance with the practice, which seems to have ceased at an early date. Moreover the context is against his interpretation. If the utterances had been perfectly intelligible, and if that fact had been commented upon openly (Acts 2:8), the charge of drunkenness would have no point (vs. 13), but if the disciples had been indulging in an ecstatic display of emotion outsiders may indeed have thought them filled with new wine (cf. I Cor. 14:23). Furthermore it is the latter charge only to which Peter refers in his apology, and by citing in defense the words of Toel he brings this ecstatic phenomenon and the Christian gift of prophecy into close proximity, similar to that in which they stand in I Cor., chap. 14. The author of Acts, then, desiring to make clear to Theophilus the ambiguous reference to speaking with tongues, elucidated the matter, as he supposed, by inserting vss. 5-12 and adding the word "other" in vss. 4 and 13. But the true significance of this event for the community was much more deeply religious than he imagined. The believers were at this time, and presumably on many subsequent occasions (cf. Acts 4:31; 10:45 f.; 11:15), so completely overwhelmed by the sense of the divine presence that they were carried high above the plane of normal life, even their very reason being temporarily swept from its moorings. We live in a very different age when emotions are less ebullient and psychical phenomena are better understood, but we prize none the less highly a vital consciousness of God's presence, though the sense of that presence may impel us into very different lines of activity.

After Peter had refuted the unjust accusation against his brethren he proceeded to expound the content of the new faith. His main thesis was: Jesus is the divinely appointed messianic prophet. This was proved by the mighty works God wrought through him during his lifetime; his miraculous resurrection to which David as well as the disciples bore testimony was further evidence of the divine approval, and God's final favor was seen in Jesus' heavenly exaltation which David had predicted and which the recent outpouring of the spirit attested. Then came the climax in Peter's discourse. If his argument thus far was valid the new messianic age was now impending, and it behooved all men to repent in order to save themselves from the present "crooked generation" before the Lord came in judgment. By repenting of sins and uniting with the new community they would be assured of salvation on "that great and notable day" (vss. 20 f.), and would enjoy in the meantime the personal assurance given by the Holy Spirit (vs. 38). While the first believers thus appear as men of rich spiritual life they are still men whose mental vision is bounded by the Jewish horizon of their own day, and they illustrate the fact that each age interprets the content of its religious life in terms of contemporary thinking. They had gripped anew the thought that . God cared for men, even to the extent of especially revealing himself unto them through Jesus, and forthwith they cast the idea into the mold of apocalyptic Judaism. We cannot accept their phrasing, although we still hold the idea itself as a priceless treasure of religious thinking.

After some days (how many we cannot say) Peter and John are introduced in the rôle of miracle-workers (Acts 3:1 ff.). It was a common thing for the disciples to go up to the temple (cf. Luke 22:53; Acts 2:46; 5:21, 42) and this lame man was daily stationed at the gate, so Peter and John had probably seen him there on previous occasions. We do not know just what the determining circumstances were which made this meeting issue so differently from the previous ones. The authenticity of the miracle has sometimes been questioned. In all probability the author of Acts would not be entirely free from the bias of that age which inclined to exaggerate, with intentions that were honest enough to be sure, the importance of the miraculous; but acquaintance with details and liveliness in narration distinguish this account from other instances where he does seem to make generalizations on his own initiative (cf. 2:43; 5:12, 15 f.; 6:8; 8:7, 13). In this instance he probably is in the main relying for information upon some source. We can believe this the more readily since Paul testifies that miracles of healing were among his charismatic endowments (II Cor. 12:12; Rom. 15:19; cf. Acts 14:10; 28:8), and other Christians of the first generation at least seem to have shared the same (I Cor. 12:9, 28, 30; Gal. 3:5; Acts 9:34, 40; Matt. 10:1; Heb. 2:4; Jas. 5:15). In fact every age knows such possibilities when the necessary psychological conditions are satisfied. Even in modern times cripples have been known to forsake their crutches at the shrine of some saint. This particular event seems to have had very little religious significance for the early Christians, but it did possess great apologetic value and gave Peter another opportunity to preach before the multitude. The content of his sermon is substantially the same as on the day of Pentecost, with the additional thought that such a mighty work as had just been witnessed was further evidence that God had glorified Jesus.

As a result of the disturbance which followed, Peter and John were arrested and brought to trial (Acts 4:1-32). This, so far as we are able to judge, was an entirely new experience for the church. Up to this time there seems to have been no perceptible breach between the Christians and their fellow Jews, and on this occasion it is noticeable that the interfering party is not the Pharisees but the Sadducees. The former had been Jesus' bitter opponents, but they seem to have cherished no particular animosity toward his disciples, and had they been inclined to do so the disciples' loyalty to Jewish customs in these early days would have tended to make the relations friendly. It was not until Grecian Jews of Stephen's type began to hint that the observance of Jewish ritual might be relatively unimportant for Christians that the Pharisees' hatred toward the new movement was aroused. In the meantime it was the civil authorities who interfered, and not for religious reasons either. It seemed to the author that the Sadducees' hatred was probably kindled by the disciples' doctrine of the resurrection (Acts 4:2). This supposition was a very natural one for him to make, for Paul and the later church maintained that one of the first deductions to be drawn from Jesus' resurrection was the doctrine of the resurrection of believers. But with the primitive Christians, if we are to trust the underlying sources of Acts (cf. 2:21, 40; 3:20 f.; 4:11 f.), it was the idea of Jesus' return to men who were now living which received chief emphasis and which the idea of Jesus' resurrection was made to support. The Sadducees were much more

anxious to stand in favor with Rome than to repress theological dogma, and while the Romans cared very little about the religious tenets of any Jew, they were always on the alert to check excitable mobs, since they well knew that Jewish religious fervor might at any moment flame into revolt. They would be particularly suspicious if the instigators of the mob were thought to exercise any sort of secret magical powers that might be employed to win the confidence of the credulous multitude. This is the historical background of the present incident. Peter and John are arrested as disturbers of the peace. Their questioners never refer to the matter of resurrection, but they examine them carefully to determine whether they have stirred up excitement through the practice of any illegitimate arts. As no sufficient charge can be proved against them they are released and commanded to incite no further trouble.

Acts 5:17-41 relates a second conflict with the authorities in which "the apostles" are the victims. They are incarcerated, during the night they are miraculously released, in the morning they are arrested again and brought before the council, where they are accused of disobeying the command to refrain from preaching. They present a brief defense which so angers the council that a death penalty is proposed, but the lenient caution of Gamaliel prevails and they escape with a beating only. The author's source of information for this incident, if indeed he had any, must have been much less satisfactory than for the first arrest and trial. There he was able to name a specific event which precipitated the action of the rulers, but here he relies upon what seems to be his own idealizing inference about the growing popularity of Peter as a miracle-worker (Acts 5:12-16) to furnish the incentive for action. In this connection the originality of the miraculous release from prison also is doubtful. Though the authorities are made to recognize its wonderful character (vs. 24b), it does not deter the officers from making a second arrest, nor is it noticed at the trial. The apostles are neither charged with breaking prison nor credited with possessing God's special favor. And still more difficult is it to believe that an early source would make Gamaliel refer to the rebellion of Theudas ten years or more before that event had taken place, nor would it be apt to make him say that the uprising headed by Judas of Galilee followed that of Theudas when in reality

it preceded it by about forty years. The technical use of the term "apostle" as here employed to designate the twelve did not arise until the days of Paul's controversy with the Jewish branch of the church, and the idea of suffering for the "Name" (Acts 5:41) was not a familiar form of persecution before Domitian's time at least (81–96 A.D.). Whatever may have been the particulars of the original event, it seems highly probable that its description in Acts is a late and elaborated form of the tradition. Nevertheless the essential significance of both this and the previous incident is fairly clear: the disciples are loyal to their Master and persist in obeying the voice of God regardless of the hardships involved. Their opponents do not begin to fathom the secret depths of the believer's new life nor to appreciate its irresistible spiritual power—a power which ultimately conquered the very Roman Empire.

The story of the first community would be incomplete without a final glimpse of the inner life of the brotherhood. The references to it are brief and sometimes seem to be incidental comments of the author rather than a part of his sources (Luke 24:53: Acts 1:13 f.: 2:42, 44-47; 4:23-37; 5:1-12). Yet a fairly consistent picture is presented. The members call themselves brethren, they spend much time in prayer and worship, they retain their Jewish manner of life, as many as were so disposed sold their goods and shared the proceeds with their poorer friends but there was no compulsion about the matter (Acts 5:4), they broke bread together in memory of their former fellowship with Jesus, and together they recalled the words and works of his earthly career. But despite the sincere piety with which they are justly credited, ambition and avarice found their way within even this charmed circle. The familiar story of Ananias and Sapphira is too true to the weakness of human nature to be doubted, but it is hard to believe that Acts describes the incident in its original unembellished form. As it now stands it seems tragic and unreal. The precision with which the actors drop dead at Peter's word shows some dramatic skill on the part of the narrator but does not approve itself to the historic sense of the reader, nor accord with the ethical ideas which we feel compelled to associate with all actions for which the Almighty is primarily responsible. Nor is the impression of originality strengthened by the sweeping generalizations of the

context (vss. 12-16). The signs and wonders are "many" though not one is specified, those who believe are multitudes, even Peter's shadow has miraculous power, and of the throng of sick not a single person is left unhealed. But it is not impossible to account for the present form of the story. We may believe that the early Christians practiced anathematizing, taking it over from the synagogue. Paul surely exercised this prerogative (I Cor. 5:3-5; 16:22; Gal. 1:10). The person upon whom the curse was pronounced was excluded from the fellowship of the community, was handed over to Satan, and death might be expected as the result. Thus this case of deception on the part of Ananias and his wife may have led the impetuous Peter to excommunicate them, and if their death followed either soon or some time afterward the fact would be interpreted superstitiously and the lapse of a generation or two in those primitive times would easily account for the present heightened coloring of the story. Thus understood, the incident gains both in fidelity to the character of the first Christians and in pungency for the religious thought of today. The genuine Christian spirit never has and never can harbor dishonesty of purpose and deliberate deceit.

Work and Whorkers

PROFESSOR GEORGE ADAM SMITH, of the United Free Church College of Glasgow, has been secured for one term of the next Summer Quarter of the University of Chicago.

Professor Francis Brown was installed as president of Union Theological Seminary, New York City, in Adams Chapel, on the evening of November 17. In the afternoon of the same day, the corner stone of the new building at the corner of One Hundred and Twentieth St. and Broadway was laid with appropriate ceremonies. Both events mark a new era in the history of that remarkable institution.

DOCTOR FREDERICK JONES BLISS of Beirut, Syria, delivered the Bross Lectures on "The Religions of Syria and Palestine Today" at Lake Forest University, December 3–14. As in the case of all the previous courses, these will presumably appear in book form at no distant day.

The Bible Study Publishing Company that publishes the Blakeslee Lessons has decided practically to continue its previous policy. Since Mr. Blakeslee's death Mr. F. P. Shumway has been elected president, and Mr. R. E. Blakeslee treasurer and general manager. President Frank K. Sanders has been secured as consulting editor and Dr. P. A. Nordell as office editor, to push the preparation and publication of the schemes inaugurated seventeen years ago by the recently deceased founder of the Blakeslee system.

GRADED LESSONS FOR THE SUNDAY SCHOOL, issued by the International Sunday School Lesson Committee, are put into the hands of lesson writers and editors during this month. They embrace the first year of each of three courses, viz., Beginners, Primary, and Junior. The publishers expect to have their material ready for the use of Sunday Schools by October 1, 1909.

THE UNIVERSITY TRAVEL STUDY CLASS, to sail February 13 for Egypt and Palestine, admits to its membership persons not actually in residence at the University of Chicago. It is not yet too late to enrol and secure what is almost equivalent to a year's study in a college or theological seminary. The chief feature of this class will be its study of places in the light of their history, aided by the lectures of the director and of local archæologists and missionaries. Any who wish further information may address Professor Ira M. Price, the University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Book Reviews

The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah. A Revised Translation with Introductions and Short Explanations. By Rev. S. R. Driver, D. D. New York: Scribners, 1906. Pp. lvi+382. \$1.50.

Teremiah is the tragic poet of Israel, the prophet of downfall and catastrophe, whose own life story was accompaniment and counterpart of his nation's calamity. If his book has sometimes failed to meet our moods or reach our understanding, it is in part because the passion and the tragedy of a far-away age come not to us with the conviction of reality; tears that were shed in Jerusalem in the sixth century before Christ or the horrors and wild carnage of a siege by armies that now are dust, seem capable only of archeological interest. Our English commentators are singularly silent on Teremiah. The Germans have thought him worth while and have produced works comprehensive and appreciative. We may hope for like commentaries in the future that will enlarge our knowledge and quicken our interest, but as a beginning Professor Driver has put forth a work that enables the English reader to grasp the essentials of the situation. Yet it is not a commentary in the strict sense of the word that has been given us. It is really "The Book of the Prophet Jeremiah" itself. book is allowed to tell its own story, by the help of proper paragraphing, quotation marks, and modern English, not colloquial or free and easy expressions nor commonplaces of everyday, but good English such as the best writers use. Some of the words of 1611 have been replaced, but archaisms are not barred when they are intelligible and give the flavor for which we love the speech of the King James's version. So Jeremiah speaks again and his voice has a resonance even over the clamant sounds of the twentieth century.

The translation is new throughout; difficult verses are dealt with in a spirit of greater freedom than is possible in our versions, for changes of pointing or emendation from the Septuagint are sometimes adopted. There might have been a larger use of metrical forms in the case of passages of strong lyrical intensity, but the *qinah* or elegiac measure is the one most often reproduced. This indeed is the only one of the old Hebrew measures concerning which we may be said to possess certainty. On p. 127 is a good example of a *qinah*: the long line of the couplet dying away each time in notes of mournful retrospect or despair. Certain words

which we have read all our lives need the revivification of a new translation. Such a one is the Hebrew word "heart" which here appears as understanding; "backsliding" becomes backturning, which indicates an act more voluntary and perverse than the older one. The somewhat fastidious effort of the American Revision to substitute a more euphonious word for "bowels" in Jer. 4:19, gives a result almost ludicrous in its mistranslation. Professor Driver wisely retains the literal rendering, which is intelligible and correct as well as interesting in its psychological import.

But more is needed than a good text and translation and our author furnishes much here by way of suggestion and help. The Introduction outlines Jeremiah's career and describes his times, which were colored by his very life. The literary features of the book are not neglected and as an illustration of a constructive phase of the higher criticism we are given a list of expressions wherein Jeremiah's style is unmistakably manifestthe recurrent phrases which like refrains of sorrow, but sometimes too of hope and faith, reveal the prophet's changing moods. To most English readers the chronology of Jeremiah is a hopeless maze; indeed the displacement of large sections of the text almost defies the chronologist, but the Introduction sketches rapidly the growth of the book to its final form, through the vicissitudes that attended the production and publication of the different rolls. The Septuagint had a shorter text. The leading facts concerning this we are told in a few paragraphs. The reader needs from time to time a word of explanation as he studies a classical author, and this is none the less true for Jeremiah. This is provided for in paragraph headings which summarize the subject-matter and present the most important facts about place and date and circumstance. On p. 300 is a typographical error. Instead of chap, lii we should read chap, li. The section discussed (chap. 50-51:58) has another tone than Jeremiah's and two pages are devoted to a résumé of critical opinion. Good reason is shown for believing it to be later than the period of Jeremiah's activity, though its addition to his well-attested prophecies was not an unnatural thing to happen.

The numerous footnotes furnish an indispensable exegetical apparatus. They are critical, expository, historical, and archeological. Those on "roof-chambers," p. 129, and "millstones," p. 147, are valuable examples. If one needs further help on words and phrases, there are the additional notes on pp. 336–70 and the glossary of Archaisms, pp. 371 ff. The work is a model both in its selection of material and its condensation, and by it Professor Driver increases the obligation which the world of biblical scholarship already owes him.

Augustus S. Carrier

Prehistoric Archaeology and the Old Testament. By H. J. DUK-INFIELD ASTLEY. Edinburgh: T. & T Clark; New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. 314. \$2.

The author delivered the Donnellan Lecture Series before the University of Dublin in 1906–7. These lectures have been enlarged and are now published under the above title. The first three chapters are given to a brief sketch of the course and progress of the modern scientific view of the earth and man, under the respective titles of "Astronomy and Geology," "Biology and the Theory of Evolution," and "The Antiquity of Man." The fourth chapter deals with "The Origin and Development of Religious Belief," the fifth with "The Religion of Old Israel," and the sixth with "Anthropology and the Christian Revelation." In this way the author has endeavored "to show that in the results attained by a study of the ancient Scriptures of Israel under the light of the higher criticism, a method may be discovered which shall enable science and religion to meet and clasp hands."

The author has undertaken a timely task. Modern science has come with a new knowledge and a new method. Both have revolutionized religious thought. As each individual interprets God in the light of experience and environment, so the duty of each generation is to reinterpret God in terms of its advanced knowledge of life and the universe. Thus the present scientific age has altered in marked degree our conception of God. In the first chapters the author has briefly detailed the facts of science so far attained, consequent upon which have come those new ideas concerning God and his relation to the world and man. The teachings of astronomy, geology, and biology are unanimous and emphatic as to the history of the world and the life upon it. These are utterly irreconcilable with a literal interpretation of the early Genesis records. It is incumbent therefore to understand what the true value of the Bible is:

As the Abbé Loisy has justly said, the science of the Bible is the science of the age in which it was written; and to expect to find in it supernatural information on points of scientific fact is to mistake its entire purpose. Upon the false science of antiquity the author has grafted a true and dignified representation of the relation of the world to God. It is not its office to forestall scientific discovery; it neither comes into collision with science nor needs reconciliation with it. It must be read in the light of the age in which it was written; and while the spiritual teaching so vividly expressed by it can never lose its freshness or value, it must on its material side be interpreted in accordance with the place which it holds in the history of Semitic cosmological speculation.

I Driver, Genesis, p. 33.

This the church has not done. It has never regarded the

spiritual situation created by the new knowledge. The scheme of dogma which has claimed to be the creed of Christendom received its deathblow at the hands of a priest (Copernicus) in the middle of the sixteenth century, for every one of the doctrines which make up that creed fits, like a picture into a frame, the universe as known to ancient and mediaeval times. That scheme is wholly out of place in the enlarged universe which is taught to our children in every secular school in the land. This is what makes the orthodox creed seem to the average man so much "in the air." It grew out of and is dependent upon that exploded scheme of the universe. . . . A new age of faith will come, when the religious instincts of devout souls will turn with joy to the new knowledge. Then faith will not be dissonant with things, as many feel it to be now, but harmonious, because it will take form from the larger universe in which it dwells.²

The contribution of science to religion comprises also a scientific method for the study. Though dealing with the religion of Israel the author rightly estimates the import of anthropology in this connection. This is highly commendable, for like "all the nations of antiquity, Israel starts from ideas rooted in animism, fetichism, and polytheism, which have come down from neolithic times." But Israel finally becomes separated from her neighbors because there was

a motive force in Israel which carried her forward to a point which the surrounding nations never attained. This force resided in the prophets. But neither in its origin was prophetism unique. The spirit which, under the guiding hand of God, issued in the prophets of Israel is inherent in all primitive religions, just as is also the spirit which led up to the priest; but the prophet is older than the priest, and this fact, which comparative religion teaches, furnishes an external proof of the truth of Wellhausen's dictum as to Israel, that "the Prophets preceded the Law."

According to the scientific method the author gives a résumé of the growth of Israel's religion, and an attempt to locate the sacred writings in their proper sequence of time and religious progress. Some changes might be suggested in the order proposed and the reasons assigned therefor. Thus Ruth is given a place in the canon, "because it contained a beautiful picture of life in Old Israel, and bore upon the origin of the family of David." Was not Ruth like Jonah, written to combat the narrow particularistic spirit of the post-exilic community in Jersualem?

One illustration of the author's conclusions must suffice. Of the theological dogma of the Fall and Original Sin he says,

The sciences of prehistoric archaeology and anthropology leave no room for the story of the "Fall" as it is told in Gen., chap. 3, and theology has no

² Hibbert Journal, July, 1906.

need of it as a record of literal historical facts. The so-called "Fall" represents in a picture what takes place in the case of each individual human being as he emerges from the ignorance and selfishness of childhood into the self-consciousness of the adult, or rather the maturing, personality. Thus sin is, in its essence, the hereditary tendency or bias toward evil, i. e., wrong-doing, through the infraction or abuse of laws implanted in their very nature, of a race advancing toward perfection but not yet perfect.

In one feature the book lacks the spirit of its theme. It frequently breaks forth into an apologetic for "the church" too dogmatic in spirit for its environment. The author can go so far as to say of other bodies that in separating themselves from the church's system, and aiming at what they consider a more spiritual Christianity divorced from material adjuncts and aids, our nonconformist brethren are depriving themselves of that in which the true Christian life consists. Emphasizing individualism and denying or ignoring the social solidarity of mankind which is secured in the church, they are in danger of losing all real spirituality.

Thus the author occasionally changes his theme from science and religion to science and the church. Despite this the book is lively, fresh, practical, and helpful.

R. H. Mode

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

LEE, F T. Sidelights on the Bible. Philadelphia: J. C. Winston Co., 1908. Pp. viii+239.

The material is grouped in seven chapters, viz.: (1) Bible Geography, (2) Harmony of the Land and the Book; (3) Manners and Customs; (4) Christ's Illustrations; (5) Light from the Monuments; (6) New Testament Background; (7) Visiting the Lands of the Bible. A great deal of matter of interest and value to the average layman seeking to understand the biblical narrative is gathered together here. It is a somewhat miscellaneous and heterogeneous mass, and is sadly in need of a good index, which would have greatly enhanced the practical value of the book. The wide range of territory covered in so small a book renders the discussion of the various themes necessarily cursory and baldly objective. But the busy man will here find gathered together a great deal of illlustrative material for which he would otherwise have to consult many volumes.

CORNILL, C. H. Einleitung in die kanonischen Bücher des Alten Testaments. [Grundriss der theologischen Wissenschaft.] Sechste, neubearbeitete Auflage. Tübingen: J. C. B Mohr, 1908. Pp. xvi+332. M. 5.

This popular German Introduction to the Old Testament, of which the fifth edition was recently done into English, here attains its sixth edition. The changes from the preceding edition are very slight. The chief interest of the new edition is in the author's protest in the preface against the recent pan-Babylonian tendency in Old Testament interpretation.

W. CASPARI. Echtheit, Hauptbegriff und Gedankengang der Messianischen Weissagung Is. 9: I-6. [Beiträge zur Förderung Christlicher Theologie, XII, 4.]
Gütersloh: Bertelsmann, 1908. Pp. 69. M. 1.20.

An exegetical study of this great Messianic prophecy. The author's exegesis is somewhat over-cautious and timid.

HORR, G. E. The Training of the Chosen People. Boston: Bible-Study Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 197.

A history of the Hebrews by a church historian. The material was originally published in various weekly and daily papers with the intent to interpret the Bible-Study Union course of lessons.

ARTICLES

FOTHERINGHAM, D. R. The Date of the Exodus. *The Expositor*, November, 1908, pp. 438-45.

This elusive date is here definitely fixed as May 13, 1247 B.C. This is a bit too exact.

DAICHES, S. Kommt das Tetragrammaton in den Keilinschriften vor? Zeitschrift für Assyriologie, November, 1908. Pp. 125-36.

The author, one of the leaders of the younger generation of Assyrian scholars, makes a detailed examination of all passages thus far cited as demonstrating the occurence of the name Yahweh in Assyro-Babylonian literature and is strongly convinced that no such claim is correct.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

Schmedel, Paul W. The Johannine Writings. Translated by Maurice A. Canney. London: A. and C. Black, 1908. Pp. 287. \$1.50.

Three parts of the Religionsgeschichliche Volksbücher (8, 10, 12) are embodied in this translation. Professor Schmiedel's radical views on gospel criticism are already well known to English readers through his contributions to the Encyclopedia Biblica. He holds the Fourth Gospel to have been composed about 132-40 A.D., probably in the Ephesian circle. "Although we cannot admit the claim of the Fourth Gospel to be regarded as the record of the Life of Jesus, it deserves the highest consideration at the present time when it is viewed as a book dealing with the essence of Christianity" (p. 255).

CLARK, HENRY W. The Gospel according to St. John. (Westminster New Testament.) New York: Revell, 1908. Pp. 259. 75 cents.

A concise, popular commentary on the Fourth Gospel, from a conservative point of view. Mr. Clark accepts the Johannine authorship, and dates the gospel toward the close of the first century. A table of contents showing in detail the sections into which the editor divides the gospel would form a helpful and clarifying preface to the text. The Authorized Version is used and its mistranslations, as in 2:20, are not always explicitly corrected.

AINSLIE, PETER. Among the Gospels and the Acts. Being Notes and Comments Covering the Life of Christ in the Flesh, and the First Thirty Years' History of His Church. Baltimore: Temple Seminary Press, 1908. Pp. 409. \$1.50.

This book is a short practical commentary on the Four Gospels and Acts. The work has been so carelessly done, however, as to possess little value. The notes are uncritical and often unintelligent, and the English is fairly represented by the unhappy title.

BURGESS, ISAAC B. The Life of Christ. For the use of classes in secondary schools, and in the secondary division of the Sunday school. Adapted from the Life of Christ by Ernest D. Burton and Shailer Mathews. (Constructive Bible Studies.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 307. \$1.00.

This book is designed for those classes for which the Burton and Mathews work has seemed somewhat too advanced and difficult. Professor Burgess is an accomplished teacher, and his pedagogical skill, literary appreciation, and religious feeling and insight unite to make this an admirable Life of Christ for classes of young people.

RUTHERFORD, JOHN. St. Paul's Epistles to Colossae and Laodicea: The Epistle to the Colossians viewed in relation to the Epistle to the Ephesians. With Introduction and Notes. Edinburgh: Clark, 1908. Imported by Scribner. Pp. x+207. \$2.25 net.

A short commentary on Colossians and Ephesians, in which latter the writer properly recognizes the Laodicean letter mentioned in Col. 4:16. A series of brief introductory essays constitute a considerable part of the work. Mr. Rutherfurd particularly emphasizes the close connection between these two epistles of the Roman imprisonment.

LAKE, KIRSOPP. The Text of the New Testament. (Oxford Church Textbooks.)

Fourth ed., revised. London: Rivingtons, 1908. Imported by E. S. Gorham.

New York. Pp. 108. Is. net.

Professor Lake's useful little sketch has undergone some revision, but takes no account of the Freer manuscripts recently brought to Detroit from Egypt, and already much discussed in this country and abroad. For the rest, there is no better presentation of the facts and problems of textual criticism, in like brief compass, than this neat and inexpensive book.





INSCRIPTION OF ZAKAR, KING OF HAMATH

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Editorial

THE ESSENTIAL UNITY OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION IS THERE A COMMON CHRISTIAN DOGMATIC?

It is frequently assumed that a body of well-defined and generally accepted doctrines lies at the basis of Christianity, but when one attempts to discover the content of this fundamental belief he soon finds himself in perplexity. This was the situation of a correspondent who recently asked the Outlook to furnish him a brief and simple statement of the principal points involved in the Protestant faith. He supposed that Protestants agree in their opinions about the following items: (1) The creation of matter and of life, (2) God's special choice of Israel, (3) The significance of Old Testament prophecy, (4) The dual personality of Christ, (5) Miracles, (6) The atonement, (7) The greater intimacy of God's relation to men in the past than in the present, (8) God's requirements of men in the way of belief, (9) The eternal life toward which the New Testament points. The Outlook considered it entirely impracticable to attempt the proposed statement, inasmuch as any definitions that might be given would seem to some Christians erroneous and to others inadequate.

This lack of unity in belief is not wholly a modern affair, as is sometimes supposed. It has characterized Christianity from the first. Paul lived almost constantly in an atmosphere of doctrinal controversy, and during the centuries that followed, as new circumstances arose and men of different temperaments and training embraced the new faith, questions of belief continued to be disputed. To be sure, creeds were framed time and again, and theologians frequently elaborated systems of doctrine, but these facts merely testify to the pervasive element of unrest. Yet it is remarkable, when one

reflects upon it, that after all these years no body of uniformly accepted tenets has been formulated. While certain individuals may have definitely settled the content of their own faith, no judiciously minded person would presume to dictate to all Christendom the exact content of belief from which no one may subtract and to which no one may add; and if he should be so bold it would still be a fact that many would not agree with him. Anyone acquainted with the actual situation must confess that the *Outlook's* correspondent was altogether wrong in supposing that Protestant Christians agree in the main upon the points he outlined. In fact it can scarcely be said that there is absolute agreement upon any one of the nine items mentioned, and this is not only true of the Protestant body at large but frequently the disagreements are to be found within the narrower circle of the same communion.

HOW EXPLAIN DIVERSITY IN BELIEFS?

What is the explanation of this situation, and what its significance? One of the principal causes of variety in theological opinion is, no doubt, the Protestant principle of the independence of the individual; and doctrine is, in its last analysis, a matter of individual opinion. It is true that there have been certain leaders in religious thought from time to time, but later generations have not always walked in the path which their predecessors have blazed out but have struck out new ways for themselves guided by the dictates of their own conscience, or perhaps rather by the formative influences surrounding them and the measure of their own intellectual industry. Hence it is unwise to attach great importance to the desirability of uniformity in dogma, as though the essentials of our religion belonged in this sphere. It is desirable that Christians have opinions—the most intelligent and worthy opinions attainable—but the possession of a common vital religion cannot be conditioned by identity of beliefs, for the principle of independent personality makes absolute uniformity impossible.

This diversity of personal bias is well illustrated in the importance variously attached to certain practical phases of Christian life. Some persons put the chief emphasis upon feeling. Religion is for them primarily a sublime emotion which stimulates and regulates all matters of thought and conduct, and any diminution of emotion means a corresponding loss of religion. Others ask, What must we do to be

saved? They take action to be the thing of vital importance, and religion becomes the noblest form of duty. Still others make an intellectual comprehension of truth central. These different points of emphasis are really due to individual inclination, and in no one of the three types do we find that which is fundamentally distinctive in the common faith. The noblest in emotion, the worthiest in conduct, and the best in intellectual life are all legitimate factors in Christianity, but they are, as it were, its outer garments and not its throbbing heart. If there is any substantial uniformity in our religion it must rest upon something more stable than either our doctrinal convictions or our several opinions of the most important practical phase of Christianity.

WHAT IS THE TESTIMONY OF EARLY HISTORY?

Since Christianity is a historic religion it is natural to look to its beginning for its essential content. By critical study of its historical origin as recorded in the New Testament may we hope to find its permanent and fundamental elements? It is sometimes supposed that in this way certain assured results in doctrine can be established. During the last half century critical study has contributed much toward a more intelligent understanding of Christian origins, but a complete constructive summary of irreducible facts is still a desideratum. The data are of such a character that they will not serve as a solvent for all doubts, and the numerous lacunae in the records make comprehensive knowledge of details impossible and invite the exercise of imagination—a temptation which few investigators are able to resist. It does not seem probable that definite limits will soon be set to the exact historical content of the beginnings of Christianity, much less will critical investigation, though conducted never so thoroughly, be able to establish a uniform system of Christian dogmatics.

But this historical study does teach us one noteworthy lesson, namely, in Jesus' thought religion was not primarily a theory but it was a life. It was not chiefly a scheme of reflections about things external but was the realization of a spiritual force within—the religious ideal, instead of being an objective standard for mere contemplation and reverence, became a vital motive power in the experience of the individual. Thus it happened that Jesus' own personality took

precedence over his system of teaching in the thought of his followers. The spirit of his life mastered them, while his teaching suffered considerable remodeling under the influence of their own peculiar ideas. Of course Jesus also had his own opinions, and many of them were doubtless bounded by the narrow horizon of his day, but how insignificant are these things compared with his vital spiritual principles!

IN WHAT RESPECT CAN ESSENTIAL UNITY BE CLAIMED?

Now Christianity is professedly the religion which Jesus founded, and to him therefore we naturally look for such elements in it as may be called essential and characteristic. From this standpoint it would seem that the unifying element must be sought ultimately in the realm of the Christian life—in personal lives lived in loyalty to the religious ideals of Jesus and in spiritual fellowship with the Father whom he revealed. In this, and perhaps in this only, lies the possibility of a unified Christendom. The distinguishing mark of the Christian, in this non-partizan sense, is not adherence to a fixed dogma, nor membership in a particular organization, but a life dominated by the spirit of Jesus. This does not mean that there may not be theological differences among Christians, or that denominational lines of cleavage will at once disappear, for these may be expected to exist as long as diversity of personal characteristics persists. Nor is it practicable to attempt to formulate, as a doctrinal scheme for general acceptance, a composite of Jesus' opinions. Indeed, to be out of harmony with some of his views is not necessarily a denial of his spirit. For instance, if one were to believe, as many think they must, that Jesus did not entertain the idea of gentile missions one need still feel no inconsistency in claiming to be a sincere follower of the Master, because Jesus' fundamental principle of love is the motor nerve of all missionary activity.

Thus our common Christian faith may assume different forms as its content is objectivized by different types of men, and it may be made to serve different functions according to the individual needs of the believer, but beneath all is the fundamental unifying fact of personal religious life dominated more or less perfectly by the spirit and ideals of Jesus—a life of trustful fellowship with God lived in obedience to the divine will and in devotion to the cause of humanity.

A NEW ARAMAIC INSCRIPTION OF BIBLICAL INTEREST

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M. Henri Pognon, who through his opportunities of many years as French consul in Mesopotamia has made many important discoveries and prosecuted valuable researches in the field of Semitics, has published, in the past year, a most important Aramaic inscription, of greatest interest to the biblical student. He discovered this inscription in 1903, but where he will not tell the world, as he desires to keep for himself the right to continue further explorations in the locality. We only know that the monument was found in northern Syria or its close neighborhood.

The find consists of four stone fragments, once constituting part of a monolith. The topmost stone shows the feet and lower end of a robe, of a human figure, which once adorned the upper portion of the monument, standing in relief from the stone. The two lower blocks present on their front a fragmentary inscription of seventeen lines. The inscription is continued upon the narrow left-hand side of the monument, where twenty-eight lines of inscription are partially visible. Pognon calculates that at least thirty lines more were contained in the upper missing portions of the stone.

I will give first of all a translation of the inscription, supplying the lacunae so far as possible with conjectural restorations, and indicating these by square brackets. As words are continued from one line to the next, I observe this peculiarity in the form of the translation.

COLUMN I

- 1. The stele which Zakar king of Hamath and Laash erected to El-Ur, and inscribed
- 2. it Zakar king of Hamath and Laash. A lowly man was I and [helped
- 3. mle the Lord of Heaven, and he stood by me, and the Lord of Heaven made me king [over

¹ In his Inscriptions sémitiques de la Syrie, de la Mésopotamie et de la région de Mossoul, Paris, 1907 (and 1908). The volume contains 116 inscriptions, most of them in Syriac.

- 4. Ha]zrak. And Bar-hadad son of Hazael, king of Aram, united against me se-
- 5. [ven]teen kings: Bar-hadad and his army, and Bar-raggash and his army, and
- 6. [the king of] Cilicia and his army, and the king of Amk and his army, and the king of Gurg[um
- 7. and his] army, and the king of Samal and his army, and the king of Miliz [and his a]r[my and the king of
- 8. X and his army, and the king of Y and his army, and the king of Z and his army and] seven [kings,—
- 9. t]hem and their armies. And all these kings laid siege to Hazrak,
- 10. and they raised a wall higher than the wall of Hazrak, and dug a trench deeper than its trefnchl.
- 11. And I lifted up my hands to the Lord of [Heaven], and the Lord of Heaven answered me, [and spo-
- 12. kel the Lord of Heaven to me through seers and astrologers, [and said to
- 13. mel the Lord of Heaven: Fear not, for I have made [thee king, and I will st-
- 14. anld by thee, and I will deliver thee from all [these kings who]
- 15. have set siege against thee. And he said
- 16. all these kings who have set [siege against thee]
- 17. and this wall which

COLUMN II

- I. Hazrak
- 2. . . . for chariotry and cavalry
- 3. its king within it I
- 4. Hazrak, and I added
- 5. . . . all the circuit
- 6. . . . and I set him as king
- 7.
- 8. these enemies in all its midst
- 9. I built gods' houses in all
- 10. . . . and I built
- II.
- 12. . . . house
- 13. . . . I set before [El-
- 14. Ur] this stele and in[scribed
- 15. i]t with the writing of my hands.
- 16. [And] whosoever will remove the wri[ting
- 17. of the hands of] Zakar king of Hamath and La-
- 18. ash from this stele, and whosoever
- 19. will remove this stele from [be-
- 20. fore] El-Ur, and disturb it [from
- 21. its] place, or whosoever will lay upon [it
- 22. his hand] [shall curse him?]
- 23. [the Lor]d of Heaven and El-

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24. [Ur] . . . . and Sun and Moon
25. . . . and the gods of heaven
26. [and the gods of] earth, and Baal of Laa-
27. sh . . . .
28. . . . .
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The importance of this inscription is revealed when we note some comparative facts. Inscriptions of any length from Syria and Palestine of the Old Testament age are exceedingly few. The most important is the Moabite Stone, composed in the dialect of Moab, which is very akin to Hebrew.² Then there are two long inscriptions found in and near Senjirli at the northern end of Syria, the region of the kingdom of Samal mentioned in the above inscription, which were discovered in 1890–91. These are composed in a language most similar to Hebrew. A shorter inscription, in Aramaic, was also found in the same locality. These three inscriptions belong to the eighth century B. C., the oldest of them probably going back to 800. These are all the extensive inscriptions found in Syria dating from the pre-exilic age of the Old Testament.

Our inscription belongs to the same category of importance. It may be said to be an Aramaic inscription, although it presents very many connections with the Hebrew, and may be called the oldest Aramaic inscription we possess. If for nothing else the monument would be important philologically, because we have very few remains of early Aramaic. This is the language in which considerable portions of the books of Ezra and Daniel were written, called in the Authorized Version, erroneously, Chaldee, in the Revised, Syrian. Papyrus finds in Egypt have been adding to our knowledge of this language in recent years. But unfortunately the peoples who spoke this language have left us from the pre-Christian period very few monuments and almost no literature. Yet it was the language of Palestine in Christ's day; in fact from the latter days of the Assyrian empire, until it came to be largely dispossessed by the Greek, it was the language of international intercourse and practically everywhere the vernacular in the Orient. Further, the monument is of interest not only for its Aramaic character but also for the pronounced Hebrew

² See the articles "Moab," in Hastings' Dictionary of the Bible, and "Mesha," in the Encyclopaedia Biblica.

elements in its language. We see that the language spoken by Israel was once widespread even in northern Syria, at last succumbing to the spread of Aramaic, so that even the Jews had to abandon as their vernacular the language of their forefathers and religion.

As for the geography of our inscription, while the discoverer will not tell where he found it, yet it itself reveals enough for many interesting deductions. Zakar appears first of all to have been king of Hazrak. This place is without doubt the Hadrak of Zech. 9:1, where it is associated with Damascus. Zakar styles himself king of Hamath and Laash; the former is the important city in northern central Syria, the site of the other city being as yet uncertain. His chief enemy is Bar-hadad son of Hazael, king of Aram, that is, of Damascus, as the term is also used in the Old Testament. All the five states which are mentioned as having joined Bar-hadad in his coalition, are known from the Assyrian inscriptions and from other sources. They extend from Cilicia to the northwest to Milid, the modern Malatia in the mountains of Armenia, the states being named in geographical order from west to east.

Concerning Zakar and his kingdom and dynasty we know nothing but what his inscription offers. He gives himself no pedigree, and tells us he was of humble origin. He was therefore an upstart, and his rapid success in politics was the cause of the great coalition Barhadad formed against him, while he was still but king of Hadrak. As the result of his triumph over his enemies he appears to have made himself king of the great city of Hamath (cf. Amos 6:2) and of Laash; these events were probably recorded in the lost portions of the inscription. He thus became the lord of northern Syria, possessing superiority over Damascus. And yet all memory of his kingdom has been entirely lost to history, until the chance discovery of this inscription. With all the knowledge the Assyrian monuments have given us concerning the history of Syria, we see how little we really do know of that territory whose fortunes were so closely bound up with the history of Israel.

The date of the inscription and the events it records cannot exactly be determined. The Assyrian annals give no help. The Old Testament makes Jehoash, king of Israel, the liberator of his nation from the yoke of Damascus (II Kings 13:25). If we may accept as

correct the biblical statement that his son Jeroboam II, who died in 745, reigned 41 years (14:23) this loss to the empire of Damascus must have taken place about 800. Now Damascus was compelled after its long and obstinate resistance to submit to Assyria in 803, and we may reasonably argue that both Israel's success against Damascus and the formation of Zakar's kingdom in the north of Syria are to be connected with this weakening of Damascus. We know that Assyria constantly followed the maxim divide et impera in Syria, and she may have instigated and abetted both Israel and the state founded by Zakar against the hegemony of Damascus. The approximate date of 800 may then be assigned to the inscription. It is interesting to note that II Kings 14:28 records that Jeroboam "recovered Damascus and Hamath," and if this statement be historical, it may have been that Israelite king who finally accomplished the overthrow of the kingdom founded by Zakar.

The inscription offers several interesting corroborations of biblical data. Thus we learn that Aram was the correct designation of the Damascene state; the biblical use of that designation was not due to any provincial notions concerning Damascus. The name Barhadad corroborates the biblical Ben-hadad, ben, "son," being the Hebrew equivalent of the corresponding Aramaic bar. Now the great Ben-hadad, the predecessor of Hazael (cf. II Kings 8:7 ff.) appears in the Assyrian and also in the Greek texts of the Old Testament with a somewhat different name; but the Hebrew tradition of the name is now substantiated. Final corroboration is also given to the existence of a Ben-hadad, son of Hazael (II Kings 13:25), whose historicity has been doubted by some critics, because Hazael's successor is given another name in the Assvrian annals. It looks as if historical scholarship has gone too far in always favoring the Assyrian statements to the despite of the Bible; in a field where we know so little, it is safest not to press the oppositions and contradictions, but to suppose that if we knew more, harmonization of both sources could be established. Also light is thrown upon the reference to the Hadrak of Zech. 9:1, and the critical theories concerning the post-exilic date of this oracle may have to be revised.

The religious features of the inscription are of great interest and importance. Zakar's god, to whom he prays, and who takes prece-

dence over the other gods named in the curse at the end, is the Lord, or rather the Baal of the heavens. The word baal is not in itself a divine name, nor does it have necessarily the polytheistic and evil connotations which the Old Testament religion came to associate with the word. It simply means lord or proprietor; this deity is the divinity of the heavens, as opposed to other Baals, for example the Baal of Hermon, the Baal of Sidon, the Baal of Gad, etc., with which we are acquainted. But the term Baal of the heavens is of interest because it helps to correct a rather mistaken notion which has prevailed among students of Old Testament religion, to wit, that the word Baal was associated only with local cults and terrestrial ideas of religion. Nor should we make the mistake of reading too much into this title, Lord of the heavens, as though it implied a monotheistic religion; religious terms must be judged from their connotations, and we see that Zakar was by no means a monotheist. Still the belief in a celestial Baal gave an opening for higher and even monotheistic religion, and hence the term was pregnant of possibilities. And we can understand how the early religion of Israel used without offense this title for its god Yahwe, as appears from the old Hebrew personal names, for example Ish-baal, the son of Saul, Jerubbaal, the alternate for Gideon.

We also learn of certain other deities. The one to whom the monument is dedicated is El-Ur (or El-Or). The first component is the common Semitic term for god, and the divine name is exactly parallel to the biblical El-Shaddai, the ancient name for Israel's god, or El-Elyon the god of Melchizedek (Gen. 14:18f). Some interesting speculations concerning this deity are possible, but I may not take them up here. The sun and moon are registered as deities, as also "the gods of heaven and the gods of earth," a classification which reminds us of the Greek theology. A Baal of Laash, one of Zakar's royal cities, is also named. The word for "seers," Col. I, line 12, is the well-known biblical word, found, for example, in Amos 7:12. Altogether in every aspect this monument is of the utmost importance to the biblical student, and it stands second only to the Moabite Stone among the monuments found on Syrian soil. Its testimony to the general correctness of the biblical text and tradition is also a matter of satisfaction.

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE BIBLE

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I. IN THE OLD TESTAMENT PROPHETS

Whatever else the Bible is, it is at any rate a record of religious experience. The men from whom it came had found God, and it is in his light that they see light. For them there is no interpretation of the world, of history, or of life, apart from him. It is he in whom all things and all men live and move and are; and, however interesting the things and the men may be in themselves, it is not with this interest that the Bible is primarily concerned, but with the interest that gathers about them or inheres in them, through their relations to God. Thus, in the Bible, history is not written for its own sake, it is regarded as an exhibition of the divine purpose that runs throughout the ages toward some magnificent consummation; prophecy is the passionate presentation of the divine character and demands before the sluggish and besotted consciences of men: everywhere upon the life of man falls the light of God.

All this means that while the Bible is a revelation of God, it is no less a revelation of man. Its words let us look into the life and nature of God; they bring us, as no other human words so powerfully and completely bring us, into the presence of that great eternal Person, with whom every living soul has to do. But they do more. They let us look into the inner life and experience of the writers themselves. Their words are their testimony, often all unconscious, to the quality of their inward spirit. This, of course, is obvious in the case of the Psalms: there men are pouring out their hearts before God and, in the process, the revelation of themselves is inevitable. But this revelation is no less genuine, even where it is less obvious. The biblical historians, when they are recording and interpreting fact, are no less surely exhibiting their own faith. They are telling us what they see in the history, and thus incidentally disclosing their own religious capacity, experience, and outlook. Similarly, the prophets who present so earnestly the claims of God upon society and the

individual, have first apprehended God for themselves, or rather been apprehended of him: it is in the constraint of a divine possession that they come before their audiences to deliver their sublime appeal. It is out of the depths of an intimate religious experience that they say what they say and plead as they plead. The words of the Bible are a window into the souls of the men who penned them.

A systematic study of the Bible from this point of view would be extremely valuable. Read as a record of religious experience, it would bring us face to face with the men of the ancient Hebrew world in their deepest and devoutest moods, and our religious life would be stimulated and deepened by the sight of theirs. Prophets and historians, anonymous though many of them be, would stand before us as living men, whose life was rooted in communion with God. This aspect of Biblical study has perhaps not been as prominent as it might have been. We have had histories of Hebrew religion, volumes on Old and New Testament theology, studies of particular aspects of Hebrew thought, belief, worship, and practice; but, while it is of great scientific importance to trace the history of an idea through the centuries, and to watch it growing in purity and power, it is of no less religious importance to see the operation of that idea within some human soul. The real and vital power of the idea is only truly seen in its impact upon personality; and such a study as this, if executed sympathetically and scientifically, should bring us into the very innermost heart of Hebrew religion. Religion is more than an idea, or group of ideas: it is an experience—the experience of God. And an acquaintance with the men who had this experience—especially with men who, like the biblical writers, were peculiarly sensitive and responsive to divine influences—would seem to be more religiously fruitful than a historical or theological study—important as this is—which simply traces ideas and examines their correlations. In this study and the following four, a tentative effort will be made in the direction indicated. We shall try to ascertain, so far as we may, some of the ultimate facts in the religious experience that lies behind the Bible, and to see something of the nature and effects of communion with God, as shared by the men whose words are there enshrined forever.

A beginning may appropriately be made with the prophets of the Old Testament. Doubtless there was real communion of a thoroughly spiritual kind—i.e., unmediated by ephod, urim, or other such sacerdotal paraphernalia—even in pre-prophetic times, whose religious level was probably higher than some recent criticism has been willing to allow. We select the prophets as the first of our studies, simply because they are the most profound and conspicuous exponents and representatives of Israel's religion, and the phenomena of religious experience might naturally be expected to receive unique expression in them. The heart of the Old Testament is undoubtedly its prophecy; indeed the Hebrew prophets occupy a place of lonely pre-eminence in the religious history of the world.

Ample, however, as is the prophetic material, it is difficult for us to reach through it the sort of experience of which we are in search. It is, in the nature of the case, rather the outer than the inner aspects of their activities that come before us in their writings. Most of them were public men, and their writings are mostly public addresses, or, at any rate, fragments or summaries of such addresses. From the power of their public utterances, we are entitled to infer that they were men of great religious capacity; only men who knew God well, men to whom religion was the supreme reality, could have pled for Him as they did. But into their inner experience we are seldom permitted to look. The glimpse that we get of the prophet is as he stands before a popular audience, gathered, it may be, for some festival at a shrine, Bethel, or Samaria, or the temple of Jerusalem; and it is but seldom that we detect him in the act of direct communion with his God. His situation is analogous to that of the modern preacher. In the sermon we may feel sure that we are listening to the words of a true man of God, but the source of his power lies in a communion of which, the more spiritually sensitive the preacher is, the less will he be likely to say in public. It is in the inner chamber, when the door is shut, that the secrets of the heart are laid bare, and power for work is won. Our knowledge, therefore, of the prophets on their inner side has to be gained largely by inference.

The prophets must have been men of extreme spiritual sensitiveness and receptivity; the whole drift and atmosphere of their speech is proof enough of that. But it is also very probable that this sensi-

tiveness was encouraged by a certain physical and temperamental predisposition. Scattered hints, and occasionally fuller statements, seem to suggest that they were visited at times by religious experiences which were not indeed unique—least of all in the oriental world but certainly peculiar. Visions and voices are not unknown to them, and in these things we might be tempted to see some unique manifestatation of God to their souls. The connection, however, of the literary prophets with their ecstatic predecessors must not be forgotten, and it goes far to explain these particular features of prophetic experience. True, Amos (7:14) disclaims all connection with the popular prophetic guilds; and, generally speaking, the methods, no less than the message of the literary prophets, differed very seriously from those in vogue in earlier times. But it is no less true that the pathological features which were so prominent among the so-called "prophets" of the time of Samuel and Saul continued more or less to mark the development of prophecy; they are sporadically present even in the writings of the prophets proper, and can be traced from Amos to Ezekiel, if not also Zechariah. It is not indeed an inevitable, but it is a very frequent, element in the prophetic temperament. Paul himself saw visions, heard voices, and could speak with tongues (I Cor. 14:18). In the tenth century B.C., and when patriotic enthusiasm was kindled by the hope of resisting Philistine oppression, roving bands of ecstatic "prophets," kindled to frenzy by music, excite no surprise. But with the moral advance of prophecy, the old ecstatic element does not completely vanish. It is seen in Elijah when he runs before Ahab's chariot across the plain of Jezreel; it is seen in Elisha when he refuses to deliver his message until a minstrel is brought. Stranger still, it is seen in Amos and Isaiah. In five visions (7:1-9; 8:1-3; 9:1) Amos sees ever more and more distinctly the doom advancing upon Israel; and in a time of intense political excitement, when Jerusalem was confused by rumors, Isaiah (8:11) felt himself on one occasion grasped, as it were, by a mighty Hand. Such experiences are less to be wondered at in Ezekiel. The visions in which he seemed to be transported from the land of his captivity to Jerusalem (8:3) and back again to Babylonia (11:24) are no doubt to be partly explained by his special psychic susceptibility; and in any case the relative prominence of these and similar phenomena in

Ezekiel is symptomatic of the decadence of prophecy. The visions of Zechariah, though they might be the result of prolonged contemplation, are probably little more than a literary device, though even as such, they are suggestive of the ominous change that is passing over prophecy. The point, however, is that prophecy, even upon its higher levels, does not invariably shake itself free from the ecstatic conditions in which it originated (cf. the very striking scene in Isaiah, chap. 21). It is perhaps no accident that the only pre-exilic prophet who has a series of visions to recount—Amos—is the one who stands nearest in time to the earlier and more distinctively ecstatic type of prophecy. Further, a certain pathological quality attaches to some of the symbolic acts even of the greatest of the prophets. To say nothing of Ezekiel's escape through a hole which he had dug in the wall of his house, to portray the desperate fate of the inhabitants of Jerusalem at its capture (12:1 ff.) there is the case of Isaiah walking barefoot through the streets of Jerusalem (chap. 20), and of Jeremiah carrying a yoke upon his neck (chap. 27). These acts were no doubt little more than devices to stimulate curiosity and give vivid expression to a neglected message. They are very far from proving that the prophets were ecstatics; they were deliberately done and afterward minutely interpreted. And yet, to a western judgment at any rate, they seem to be on the borderland of the pathological.

It would be a complete mistake, however, to seek in the ecstatic phenomena of prophecy for that which is distinctive of prophetic communion with God. For, in the first place, those phenomena are in any case only sporadic, and in some prophecies are not present, or at least not traceable at all. The striking thing about the Hebrew prophets, as about Paul, is not their ecstasy, but their sanity. If it is true that they are mastered by God, it is no less true that they are masters of themselves. If some of their visions come to them in trances or in dreams, others and indeed the great majority of them are seen through eyes that were very wide awake to the political situation, especially upon its moral side. In one remarkable passage Amos gives immortal expression to his conception of the world as an arena of law and order, cause and effect (3:1–8). In the rise of the Assyrians, he hears the awful voice of God, the growl of the terrible Lion which would in the not very distant future spring with a

roar upon Israel and tear her to pieces. The prophets are the great interpreters of history and of the individual life, and their interpretation is, in one aspect, the fruit of divinely illumined reflection and meditation. When Hosea begins his book by saying that Jehovah had told him to take a wife of whoredom and children of whoredom (1:2), it is obvious that he is here interpreting his marriage from the point of view of his maturer experience of his wife's infidelity. It is marvelous that in the impulse which led him to love the woman who brought a cloud of sorrow over his later life, he should have recognized the voice of God. This interpretation is half revelation, half reflection -Hosea could not have consciously distinguished between the two. His call to be a prophet came in no ecstatic way, but through the simple fact of his marriage to an unworthy woman, whose unworthiness was yet impotent to destroy his mighty love for her. Similarly we have no reason to believe that the call of Amos came in any unusual or ecstatic way. Considering his experience of visions—though even these appear to be little more than the natural result of long and painful reflection upon Israel's sin and probable doom—we cannot indeed absolutely say that his call may not have come through some ecstatic experience. But nothing in his account of it compels us to assume this. He simply tells us that as he was following his sheep, Jehovah "took" him (7:15). This may mean no more than that, brooding, as he must often have done, upon the deplorable situation in Israel, it suddenly flashed upon him that through him the divine word which was needed might and must be spoken.

The phrase, Thus saith Jehovah, which runs through prophecy from beginning to end, points no doubt originally to a communion of very special intimacy between the prophet and his God: it was almost as if words from the very lips of Jehovah of hosts fell upon the prophet's ears (Isa. 5:9; 22:14). But we make no special use of it in this discussion, for it seems in course of time to have acquired the more general meaning of the simple proclamation of the divine will.

It is plain, then, that ecstasy, though an occasional fact of prophecy, is by no means *the* fact, nor is it in such eccentric and exceptional experiences that we are to seek the prophetic communion with God. At the same time it has to be remembered that those very experiences could be, and occasionally were, to the prophets the medium of a

supreme manifestation of God, and that through those experiences a communion so vivid and commanding was realized that it affected their whole subsequent career. We refer in particular to the prophetic call. Doubtless the men who heard the call were in every case deep-hearted men who had long and earnestly thought upon the sins of their people, and of the needs of the times, especially their infinite need of God-men to whom the very need constituted a call. But to some prophets—not demonstrably to all—there came a supreme moment in which this call was articulately heard in a definite spiritual experience. This is true of Isaiah, of Jeremiah, and of Ezekiel. But Ezekiel's vision (chap. 1), though no doubt thoroughly real, is so interfused with elaborate and complicated elements which appear to be the result of reflection, that the sense of the immediate presence of God is somewhat impaired—it is at any rate more difficult for us sympathetically to apprehend. A difficulty of another kind confronts us in the story of Jeremiah (1:4-10). That great prophet has the wonderful and reassuring sense of having been predestined to his high office before he was born. But that this assurance came, and that his ministry began, in an ecstatic experience, seems altogether probable. The difficulty in asserting this dogmatically is that the account of his call, as we have it, appears to be fragmentary. He speaks of Jehovah putting forth his hand (1:9) and touching his mouth; and in this simple phrase we get a glimpse of an experience which, as Paul said of a similar experience, it was not possible for a man to utter. The fact that we are unable to explain the experience or to understand all that it involved, is no reason why it should be depleted, rationalized, or explained away. It is doubtless analogous to that other experience of the divine Hand (Isaiah 8:11) to which allusion has already been made. It comes not only to a Jeremiah whose heart throbs with emotion, and down whose face steal tears for the daughter of his people, but also to Isaiah of the strong and steady soul.

Indeed the ecstatic experience which in some cases constituted the prophet's call can be studied in its purest and simplest form in the call of Isaiah. Many of the elements which enter into his majestic vision can be traced to the prophet's own experience and environment. The thought of the mighty king of Judah, dead, might wake

in his mind the thought of that other King who sat upon his throne forevermore. The seraphim may have been suggested by the brazen serpent (II Kings 18:4), and their song by the music of the temple choir. But all this does not destroy the reality of the vision. The sense of his sinfulness—of an unworthiness which not only disqualified him for service, but deserved death—the humble and horror-struck cry, "Woe is me, for I am undone," are most naturally explained by the prophet's own words when he says, "Mine eyes have seen the King, Jehovah of hosts." He may have come to the temple in a thoughtful and melancholy mood, with the burden of his country upon his heart, and fallen, through his meditation, into an ecstatic condition, in which he saw the glory which irradiated the world and the unseen Lord who kept him steadfast throughout his subsequent career.

Moments like these must have been of transcendent importance in the spiritual history of the prophets. But it must not be supposed that they were frequent; in all probability they were extremely rare. No doubt Isaiah, on another occasion, feels himself under the constraint of the Hand (8:11); but, in general, it is the glory of Hebrew prophecy, as represented by its great literary exponents, that ecstasy is relegated to the background. As we have seen, it is not altogether absent; it may even be at times of crucial importance; but so far from its being the normal medium of communion with God, it is not even frequent. It is extremely rare, and—this is significant—relatively frequent only in Ezekiel, the prophet who represents the beginning of the decadence of prophecy. The matter apparently stands thus. The sense of the divine presence and fellowship which came in the initial vision was so real and overwhelming that that presence and fellowship were forever after guaranteed. The prophet was thenceforth continually sure of God and joyful in him, even though the first ecstatic experience which brought the overwhelming conviction of him should never be repeated, just as a later poet can rejoice in God, even though the fig tree and the olive should fail; that is, though those gifts should be withdrawn in which God was wont to manifest his grace (Hab. 3:17). The vision might pass, but God remained forever.

Whether this satisfying sense of God and his fellowship would be

steadfastly held through a long and perplexing career, would of course depend partly upon the temperament of the prophet. In this connection, the contrast between Isaiah and Jeremiah is most instructive. Isaiah is a regal soul. Having seen the King once, he has seen him forever, and into his heart the vision has brought quietness, confidence, and serenity. Not so Jeremiah. More tender and emotional by nature, his sense of God (though not his faith in God) is more exposed to the gusts of circumstance. Opposition disquiets him, persecution perplexes him; there come times when he would fain stifle the divine word within him, and have done with it forever. But it is mightier than he, and it flashes forth, in spite of him, in words of fire (chap. 20). Jeremiah is to us the most interesting of the prophets because of the naïve candor with which he discloses the conflict between the human and the divine in his own soul.

This fellowship with God gave the prophet an insight into the purposes of God, and into the divine meaning of historical events, especially of great historical crises. God does nothing, as Amos said (3:7), without first revealing his secret to his servants the prophets. But that did not mean that, in individual cases of perplexity, the divine will was instantly revealed; it could be revealed only to those who were prepared to possess their souls in patience. More than once we find Jeremiah reaching certainty only through a period of watching and waiting. When Hananiah, for example, promises complete deliverance from Babylon within two years; at first Jeremiah (chap. 28) does not know how to deal with the prophecy, and contents himself with pointing out that, according to the teaching of history, prophecies of peace are less likely to be fulfilled than prophecies of evil. But afterward the conviction that Hananiah was wrong grew upon him until it became a certainty. Then he appeared, denounced Hananiah's message as a lie, and prophesied his death within the vear.

The prophetic writings are addresses to the people, and we are therefore, as has already been said, seldom permitted to see the prophets in direct address to God. Here again Jeremiah is the prophet of whom on this side we know most. Even if he did not tell us himself (20:12), we could be sure that he was accustomed to "roll his cause upon Jehovah." His recorded prayers give, no doubt, a totally

misleading impression of the man. Wrung from him as most of them were by the treachery and heartlessness of his people, they are largely prayers for the divine vengeance, expressed, too, in language of terrible realism. For us the interest of Jeremiah's prayers lies largely in the vehemence and familiarity with which he addresses God. He compares him to a deceitful brook and to waters that fail (15:18). He charges him with beguiling him into his prophetic mission, and thrusting him upon a career in which he had become a laughing-stock all the day (20:7). It is a pity that so few of the prophetic prayers have been recorded; but from what we do know, we may be quite sure that the ministries of the prophets were constantly sustained upon prayer.

It is very suggestive and significant that we so often find the prophets in the rôle of intercessors. They spoke to men so powerfully for God because they had first spoken earnestly to God for men. Nearly all the prayers ascribed to Moses are intercessory. He prays that the leprosy may be removed from Miriam, he prays that his apostate people may be forgiven. Practically all the intercessory prayers of the Old Testament are offered either by prophets or by men, like Abraham and Job, whom later ages idealized as prophets. Elijah prays for the restoration of the widow's son (I Kings 17:21). Amos twice prays that the blow may be averted from Israel (7:2, 5). A sense of the duty and power of prophetic prayer shines through the words of Jeremiah (15:1)—"Though Moses and Samuel stood before me, yet my mind would not be toward this people" (cf. Ezek. 14:14, 16, 18, 20). Jeremiah appears to have habitually prayed for the people (II:14; 14:11), he claims to have "stood before thee to speak good for them, to turn away thy wrath from them" (18:20); and in times of peculiar perplexity, during and shortly after the siege of Jerusalem, king and people alike request his prayers (37:3; 42:2 f.).

In several directions, the effect of this communion with God is very marked even upon the outward life. In particular, it inspires the prophet with steadfastness and courage in moments of danger. He who feels that God is behind him and with him does not fear the face of man. It is this sense of the divine commission and presence that explains the fearless answer of the simple Tekoan shepherd to the warnings of the supercilious courtier-priest (Amos 7:14-17). It is

this that explains Isaiah's serenity when he goes forth to face Ahaz, whose heart shakes "as shake the forest trees before the wind" at the rumor of the coalition against Judah (Isa., chap. 7), and that enables him to make to Ahaz his magnificent offer of a sign from any part of the universe—from the heights above or the depths beneath (7:11). It is this that keeps him strong and steady when excitement and confusion reign in Jerusalem (8:12 f.; cf. 18:4). It is this that inspired the tender-hearted Jeremiah to face without flinching an angry crowd that was clamoring for his blood (Jer., chap. 26). "Jehovah of hosts—let him be your fear and let him be your dread" (Isa. 8:13)—that was the prophetic motto; and the fear of him drove out all fear of men or groups of men, political coalitions and foreign aggression, things present and things to come.

To the prophets this sense of God is not only an inspiration, it is a consolation amid all perplexity and sorrow. Jeremiah, for example, stands alone, without wife or child or any of the human joys that lift men over trouble or console them within it. But all the more real to him is God. God is all that he has, and he must be everything. He is his refuge in the day of evil (17:17), and his words are the joy and the rejoicing of his heart (15:16). His very defeat before men, as the late Professor A. B. Davidson remarks, "drove him into God's presence, as we may say, and gave him God. Feeling he had nothing else in the world—none else in the world—God became all to him. His life grew to be a fellowship with God; his thoughts seemed a dialogue between himself and God. If God seemed to deny him all other things, he gave him himself."

THE SIGN OF JONAH

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What did Jesus mean by "the sign of Jonah"? Did the point of comparison lie in the fact that as Jonah was a preacher of righteousness to the men of Nineveh, arousing in them, by his stern and authoritative message of impending judgment, a genuine change of heart, so the Son of man, "more than Jonah," who required of his contemporaries a far more searching analysis of their lives, should in the same way prove himself a "sign" to them? Or did it consist in the miraculous deliverance, in the one case from "the belly of the seamonster," and the other from "the heart of the earth"?

Now if we possessed only the Third Gospel, I imagine the answer would be clear and unambiguous, namely, that they were both, in however different a degree, accredited preachers sent from God, and as the one was recognized as such by the men of Nineveh, so should the other be by the men of his generation. Eliminating for the moment the First Gospel, let us see what St. Luke means us to understand by Christ's words. He tells us (11:29, 30) that "as the multitudes were gathering together unto him, he began to say, 'This generation is an evil generation; it seeketh after a sign; and there shall no sign be given to it but the sign of Jonah. For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation." It is to be noticed that Jonah is here described as having become "a sign to the Ninevites." We obviously turn at once to the Old Testament book to ascertain in what way he became a sign to them. We there find that Jonah was commanded by Yahweh to go to the extreme East and cry against the wickedness of Nineveh; but unwilling to preach to an alien people, he endeavors to escape "from the presence of Yahweh" by embarking in a ship bound for the far West. Punished for his obstinacy and disobedience, he is swallowed alive by a sea-monster, in whose belly he is brought to repentance, and upon prayer to God is cast up safely upon the Mediterranean shore. A second time the command is given him, and on this occasion he obeys. "And Jonah began to enter into the city a day's journey, and he cried, and said, 'Yet forty days, and Nineveh shall be overthrown.' And the people of Nineveh believed God; and they proclaimed a fast," etc. (3:3, 4), with the result that the catastrophe was averted. Now I think it is obvious that a reader, starting from St. Luke and going back only to the book of Jonah, would inevitably decide that the point of comparison in Christ's words lay in the fact that both he and the Old Testament messenger were sent from God; and that as in the one case the message itself was proof of its divine origin and so of the authority of its bearer, so ought the words and work of Christ to constitute a sufficient commendation of his own claims. It would be plain that the engulfment by the "whale" was in no way connected with the fact of Jonah having become a sign to the Ninevites: for not only was that purely a personal matter between himself and his Maker, brought about by his disobedience and terminated upon his repentance, but Jonah had been commanded to go and preach the identical message to them before his catastrophe, before he had even perversely boarded the ship of Tarshish. Had he gone at once, there would have been no miraculous swallowing and casting up alive, yet he would still have been a sign to them, for the sign lay in his authoritative commission from God, which at his very first preaching they recognized. And it is further to be remembered that there is not the slightest hint in the book that when Jonah did enter Nineveh and began to proclaim his message, either that he announced to them the fact of his having been swallowed and cast up as a sign, or that the Ninevites themselves regarded it as a sign, or that they knew anything whatever about it, yet Jonah in St. Luke is pictured as having become "a sign to the Ninevites." Inasmuch as the story of Jonah itself reveals that the only "sign" to the men of Nineveh consisted in the authority with which he spoke, as of one sent from God, and which the people, convicted by their own consciences as worthy of punishment, most truly accepted, believing the threats which he uttered in God's name, an inquirer must inevitably reach the conclusion that Jesus means that his own work and teaching constituted a sufficient "sign" to the Jews of his day, and as such, were the antitype of the work of Jonah. In the one case as in the other, it is obvious that only those who had "ears to hear" could appreciate the sign. If St. Mark records him as saying that "no sign shall be given to this generation," it in no way excludes the exception as given by St. Luke. Christ's ministry itself was a sufficient sign of his authority and origin. No heavenly portent was necessary.

Turning now to the context in St. Luke, we see the conclusion at which we have arrived from an examination of the book of Jonah very clearly borne out. Two sayings follow, the purpose of each of which is to illustrate and explain the brief statement of Jesus in vs. 30. The queen of the South shall condemn this generation in the last day; for she, a stranger, recognizing as from God the wisdom which flowed from the lips of Solomon, gave heed to his words; yet the chosen people, with their centuries of training, are rejecting the utterances of one who by his every deed and word, is proving himself to be "more than Solomon." Again, "The men of Nineveh shall stand up in the judgment with this generation, and shall condemn it: for they repented at the preaching of Jonah; and behold, more than Jonah is here." It is difficult to see how St. Luke's words could be clearer. If, in using the Logia, he has transposed vss. 31 and 32, he has probably done so for the sake of chronological sequence. The lesson of both is absolutely the same. The queen of the South required no sign from heaven in order to accept the teaching of Solomon: his words themselves were proof of their source. The men of Nineveh asked no miracle of Jonah: his own burning message constituted him a sign to them. And it ought to be remembered that even if they had demanded of him a sign (of which there is not the slightest hint in the book of Jonah), and in return he had recounted his miraculous experience, they would have had no more than his own unsupported word upon which to rely, for Nineveh is some distance from the Mediterranean. Had they doubted his authority in the first instance, would their belief in him have been confirmed by his narration of a portent which none of them had witnessed? When the Jews doubted our Lord's authority, they did not ask to hear from him the account of some past miracle by which his work had been made clear to himself. They asked him to show them a sign from heaven. And this perverseness is just what the lesson of the Ninevites and the queen of the South is intended to correct.

But, it may be asked, Why does Christ use the future tense with

reference to his sign? He had already been preaching for a long time: do not δοθήσεται and ἔσται imply some sign which was yet to be given? But if the sign included our Lord's whole life and teaching, as I believe it unquestionably does, I cannot see how his answer could have been differently phrased. The people obviously were seeking some heavenly portent which by testifying unmistakably and absolutely to his unique claims would relieve them of the moral responsibility of weighing and testing his message. This has been a common enough phenomenon at all times, and is incident to human nature. But to Jesus such a demand is characteristic of "an evil generation," and he will have none of it. "No sign shall be given it. save the sign of Jonah." Could the statement possibly have been thrown into the present tense? Hardly; for it included all that the Son of man was vet to say and do, much of which still lay in the future, but all of which, past, and present, and future, was to constitute to the men of that generation, if they had eyes to see and ears to hear, the sign that Jesus Christ had come forth from God with an authoritative message for them. What I wish to emphasize is, that a candid study of the Third Gospel, compared with the book of Jonah, forces upon us the conviction that St. Luke does not mean us to understand by "the sign of Jonah" that Christ is here comparing his future resurrection with Jonah's miraculous deliverance from the sea-monster, but is teaching that as an alien race accepted, on its own intrinsic merits, a Jewish preacher's message, a fortiori the Jewish people should receive one of their own race, who spake, as the Fourth Evangelist by almost universal consent truly recorded, as never man spake.

But when we turn to the First Gospel, we find an entirely different meaning given to "the sign of Jonah": "for as Jonah was in the belly of the sea-monster three days and three nights; so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights" (12:40). Is this the evangelist's own expansion of St. Luke's words? Or did St. Luke intend to give a summary of them? Let us suppose for a moment that St. Luke has condensed the saying, either from the First Gospel or the Logia. Now if we eliminate for an instant Matt. 12:40, we cannot fail to see that as between Matt. 12:39, 41, 42 and Luke 11:29b-32 there is a literary dependence, either of one upon the other,

or of both upon a common source, for they are in almost absolute verbal argument. We have already seen that the Third Evangelist makes the point of comparison to consist in the authoritative preaching of repentance on the part of Tonah and our Lord; and if Matt. 12:30, 41, 42 be read consecutively, it will be seen that exactly the same teaching is enforced. Vs. 40, however, explains the sign in a totally different way either from vs. 41 or Luke 11:30, 32. If then, St. Luke has abridged Matthew, he has not only absolutely failed to give the meaning of the latter, but has definitely led his readers to believe that "the sign" consisted, not, as the First Gospel affirms in vs. 40, in the resurrection, but in the preaching of repentance! But what possible object could St. Luke have in making such an alteration, whether it be from the First Gospel or the Logia? It is difficult to discover one. Twice at least in this Gospel Christ foretells his resurrection; had he done so here, it is incredible that the Evangelist would so completely have altered his meaning. And as the context in the First Evangelist is in entire accord with the whole passage as given by St. Luke, while vs. 40 is at once incompatible with the saying in the latter and out of harmony with its own context, I think that, even did we not know of more than one analogous case elsewhere, we may dismiss the hypothesis that the Logion in St. Luke is designed as an abridgment. What then, are we to say of St. Matthew's "expansion"? If the unknown Jewish-Christian editor of St. Matthew, whose personality even today remains an insoluble enigma, was like St. Luke in not being an eye-witness of what he wrote, we must also add, "with a difference." Those who have read Mr. Allen's St. Matthew, together with his luminous essay in the back of the volume, will appreciate with what singular freedom the First Evangelist has edited his sources. To examine the general characteristics of his Gospel would be to carry me far afield—they are lucidly enough set forth in Mr. Allen's volume of the International Critical Commentary. But I think most students would agree that, especially as regards St. Mark and the Logia, he has at times expanded, interpreted, or excised, to a degree by no means equaled on the part of St. Luke. It may be sufficient to recall 5:32 and 19:9, where as against not only St. Mark, but St. Luke and St. Paul also, he has introduced an exception, so as to bring our Lord's teach-

ing into accord with the stricter school of Jewish interpretation of Deut. 24:1-4. This conservative attitude toward the Law is characteristic. Another noteworthy phenomenon is his rather frequent use of Old Testament passages as prophetical or typical of some incident in Christ's life, inserted to demonstrate to his Jewish-Christian readers that even in details "the New lies hidden in the Old." Of such a character, I think we may safely say, is the addition of 12:40. The Logia referred to "the sign of Jonah." But in what way was he a sign? Looking back over our Lord's life, and recalling the crisis in the life of Jonah, the editor conceived that the point of comparison did not lie in the preaching of repentance, but in the fact that both Christ and Jonah had been buried for three days. That he also regarded the latter to be the meaning of Christ's original words I believe to be undoubted. Accordingly he alters the Logion, "For even as Jonah became a sign unto the Ninevites, so shall also the Son of man be to this generation": and incorporating verbatim the LXX of Jonah 2:1, he brings type and antitype into relation by writing, "For as 'Jonah was in the belly of the sea-monster three days and three nights' (LXX), so shall the Son of man be in the heart of the earth three days and three nights." Although the analogy is somewhat forced—the one whole day and parts of two others being expanded into "three days and three nights"—in view of the striking parallel, serving as a direct Old Testament passage foreshadowing the burial and resurrection of our Lord, and in view also of the already current μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας, it was extremely natural. It is noticeable that, in its altered form, Jonah is no longer a sign "to the Ninevites." The editor has satisfied himself, as I have said, that the miracle in the Mediterranean was "the sign," which was intended, not for the men of Nineveh, but for after generations, who were to see in it a type of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. Accordingly he thus interprets it. To the Jewish-Christians for whom the Gospel was written, it was intended to serve and, as history very clearly shows, did serve, along with the oft-repeated $\tilde{l}\nu a \pi \lambda \eta \rho \omega \theta \hat{\eta}$ and similar phrases, as a confirmation of faith in him who, as the same evangelist has recorded, came not "to destroy the law or the prophets," but "to fulfil."

PSALM 87

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There is no nation in history so intensely patriotic as Israel. Jew's love for his country, and especially the holy city, was like a glowing fire. Terusalem was preferred "above his chief joy." his consuming ambition was to see her crowned with glory, the holy hill exalted above the mountains, and all nations "streaming unto it," their kings and queens bringing their choicest gifts in homage. The average Jew was undoubtedly exclusive in his patriotism. For him it added to the triumph of Jerusalem to see her enemies "broken with a rod of iron," and "dashed in pieces like a potter's vessel." But, though this narrower view finds frank expression in the Old Testament, it represents an aberration of the true hope of Israel. The early patriarchal traditions are shot through with the light of a universal destiny for the people of God. "In thee and thy seed shall all the nations of the earth be blessed" (Gen. 12:3; 18:18, etc.). And the nobler spirits of Israel remained consistently true to this larger hope. Even in the darkest night it shone out clear and bright. "I will give thee for a light to the Gentiles, that thou mayest be my salvation unto the end of the earth" (Isa. 49:6).

The 87th Psalm gives remarkable expression to this hope. Unfortunately, the sense is much obscured through textual corruptions. The gravest is found in vs. 5, where, however, the true reading is suggested by the Μήτηρ Σείων of LXX. We ought, doubtless, to insert DN before TON, the omission being due to similarity of syllables. This yields an excellent context. The last three words of the verse, however, seem still out of place. They not only violate the general metrical scheme of the Psalm, but they stand in no real relation to the immediate context. Buhl has happily suggested that the words should form the second half of vs. 1, which, in the present Massoretic text, stands in isolation. This would give an admirable parallelismus membrorum. The text of vs. 1 would be further improved if we made

the slight change from להלות להים להים להים להלות להים להלות להלו

Making the above-noted alterations, we translate the Psalm as follows:

- Jahweh's foundation stands on holy mountains,
 And He will establish it, even the Most High.
- 2) Jahweh loveth the gates of Zion More than all the dwellings of Jacob.
- 3) Glorious things are spoken of thee, Zion, thou city of God:
- 4) "I will acknowledge Rahab and Babel among them that know me, Philistia too, and Tyre, with Cush.
- 5) But as for Zion, she shall be called Mother, (For) each and every man was born in her."
- 6) Yea, Jahweh shall count, when He enrolleth the peoples, "This man was born there, that man was born there."
- 7) Then shall they sing, as they dance,

"All my fountains are in thee."

The date of the Psalm has been the subject of much discussion, the different estimates ranging from the prosperous days of Hezekiah (Delitzsch) or Josiah (Briggs) to the late Persian or Maccabean age (Cheyne, Davies). The present writer is disposed to follow Calvin in assigning it to a date just after the restoration from Babylon (cf. also Hupfeld, Kirkpatrick, Maclaren). The general tone of the Psalm, which reminds one of Deutero-Isaiah, points to this conclusion

The prominent place occupied by Egypt and Babylon among the enemies of Israel (cf. Isa. 45:14; 46:1; 47:1; etc.) would also accord therewith. From this historical situation, too, we seem to find the most appropriate explanation of the peculiar term סַּרְרָּה foundation, here used for the city, or temple, of God.

On this reading of the Psalm, the glorious event foretold by the prophet has at length come to pass. The warfare of Jerusalem has been accomplished, and her iniquity pardoned. The bands of restored exiles have actually planted their feet on the holy ground. But deep sorrow and disappointment are mingled with their joy. The city that was once "the perfection of beauty," and the temple in whose stones they took such pleasure, whose "very dust to them was dear," lie before them a blackened mass of ruins, nothing now remaining but the bed-rock on which the holy place was built. At such a sight their hearts sink within them, while the old men who remember the former glories of the temple cannot restrain their bitter tears (cf. Ezra 3:12 f.; Hag. 2:3). But from Zion's very desolation the Psalmist raises a note of exultant hope. The ground on which they stand is holy ground. The "foundation" is Jahweh's, who chose the city for His own, and even in her ruins loves her "more than all the dwellings of Jacob." Therefore He will not leave her in the dust. The future of Zion is bound up with the cause of Jahweh Himself. He will put forth His hands, and establish her, and raise her to a position of glory nobler and brighter than ever in the past (vss. 1 f.). Through the imaginative vision of faith the poet can even see and hear the "glorious things" which the Lord God has destined for His city. These glories he sets forth through the lips of Jahweh Himself (vss. 4f.). The city that was so recently profaned by unhallowed feet shall ere long become the capital of a kingdom of God, which shall extend its sway to the uttermost parts of the earth, and shall embrace within its bounds all nations and kindreds of men, even those most bitterly hostile to Israel, and those most widely removed from her influence— Egypt and Babylon that had made such havoc of the people of God, the "uncircumcised" Philistine, their ancient enemy, proud Tyre whose ambitions were all for worldly wealth and splendor, and far distant Cush "terrible from their beginning onward" (cf. Isa. 18:7).

But it is not in the position here assigned to Jerusalem as the center

of the future kingdom of God that the characteristic note of the Psalm is found. This was the dominant conception through the whole range of Messianic prophecy. The new element appears in the relation conceived to subsist between the different members of the kingdom. Former prophets had pictured the gentiles going up to Ierusalem to receive there "the instruction of Jahweh" (cf. Isa. 2:3; Mic. 4:2), bringing rich tribute of gold and silver in token of allegiance (cf. Isa. 45:14; 40:23; Psalm 72:10 f.). The Psalmist has here risen to the wider conception of Zion as the "mother-city" or metropolis of a God-fearing empire, every member of which enjoys full "citizen-rights." In this new empire the bond that links the nations together is no longer political supremacy, or even religious privilege, but common fellowship in the "knowledge" and service of God (vs. 4). And the freedom of Zion is extended to "each and every man" who acknowledges the sway of Israel's God. When Jahweh makes up the register of the nations, he marks each loyal subject as a free-born citizen of Zion. "This man was born there; that man was born there" (vss. 5 f.).

We have thus passed almost entirely beyond the narrower horizon of the older dispensation. No doubt, Jerusalem still retains her place of honor as the metropolis. But the empire of God is now represented as universal and free. All nations acknowledge him as the living God, and all are counted "among the children" (Jer. 3:19) and left in the freedom of the children to fill their own place, and work out their own destiny, within the empire. The light has thus broadened to the very dawn of the "perfect day" when "there is neither Jew nor Greek, neither bond nor free, for ye are all one in Christ Jesus" (Gal. 3:28).

In the last verse, the short rhythm of which is doubtless an imitation of some popular dance measure, the poet strikes a quick note of joy. The citizens of Zion, throughout the empire of God, here give expression to their delight and pride in their common "mother." As they dance in festal bands, they sing, "All my fountains are in thee." The phrase naturally suggests the "wells of salvation" from which the Lord's people would draw water with joy (Isa. 12:3), or the spring rising from the temple of the Lord, which was to bring healing and fruitfulness to all the borders of the land (Ezek. 47:1; Joel 3:18;

Zech. 14:8; cf. Rev. 22:1 ff.). We may also compare the "fountain of life" which is with God (Psalm 36:9 f.), and the water which Jesus gives, which becomes in those that drink of it "a well of water springing up unto life eternal" (John 4:14). The free-born citizens of Zion thus find in the city and her King the well-spring of all their joy—refreshment and healing and strength, fruitfulness, and life itself.

The joy with which Israel rejoiced in Jerusalem therefore returns to them in far richer measure. The privilege of citizenship in Zion has been extended to all the nations of the earth. But when life is lost for the kingdom of God, it is found again ennobled and enriched. The praises of the city of God have been hitherto but single notes and chords. They now rise to the ears of the King as full-toned symphonies of joy.

The Psalm has thus its meaning for the Christian world as well. There are times when the church of Christ is sunk in depression and gloom, its glory stripped off, and but the bed-rock remaining. Then hearts begin to fail them for fear, while those who remember "the former glories" look wistfully backward, lamenting the times that were "better than these." But while the "foundation of God" abides unmoved—that foundation other than which "no man can lay"—our vision should be steadily forward, and our hope high. He who has laid the foundation will surely complete the building. God's kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. "He must reign, till he hath put all enemies under his feet." His will shall yet be done on earth, even as in heaven. Then shall all men be brethren, rejoicing together in the freedom of the children of God. For the law of the kingdom is freedom. God has called us into freedom, and he seeks our free. joyful service. In this happier time, when all shall call the Father blessed, his praise shall be perfected. The song of the multitude which no man can number, of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues, shall be: "Blessing, and glory, and wisdom, and thanksgiving, and honor, and power, and might, be unto our God for ever and ever. Amen." (Rev. 7:12).

THE WORTH OF A MAN AN EXPOSITION OF MARK, 5:1-20

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The striking story of the healing of the Gerasene demoniac, while full of possibility of dramatic and vivid treatment, seems to present difficulties so great, theological, historical, and moral, that the preacher generally leaves it unused. One is involved in the difficult question of demoniacal possession, not only of men, but also of swine; the improbability of so great a catastrophe seems very great; and, as an ethical question, the destruction of other people's property seems hard to excuse; so that the preacher might well conclude that the strength of the sermon would be lost in the details of apologetic discussion. As a matter of fact, however, these difficulties are not serious for the homiletic use of the story. On the contrary, as is often the case, these are the very points that give it its highest value for the sermon.

The great significance of Jesus is his revelation of the spiritual power that is operative in this world. A few people recognize spiritual values; most of us in our little practical blindness do not very much perceive or understand them; and many men deny them altogether. This incident is a most impressive exemplification of the supreme faith of Jesus in the efficacy of spiritual forces to meet all human needs.

I. One is struck first of all with the exhibition of abnormal humanity. Here was a man (Matthew notes that there were two, but the variation is unimportant) who came rushing from the rocky tombs to meet Jesus and the Twelve as they disembarked from their boat. He was naked, frenzied, doubtless with glaring eye and disheveled hair. Matthew says he was "exceeding fierce so that no man could pass by that way." His body was covered with the hideous wounds where, in his paroxysms of rage, he had gashed himself with the sharp stones broken from the rocks. It would seem likely that this creature came yelling, dashing at the party, who had landed

near his haunts, with intent to do them injury. What was the matter with the man?

In that day people explained his condition easily by the statement that he was possessed of demons. They thought of those evil spirits as permitted to remain upon the earth if they could find bodies to inhabit. There seems to have been an idea that the demon dreaded disembodiment, and into the man, who by some evil had permitted him to enter, he came, and took possession of the personality. We should of course say that he was a dangerous lunatic of some kind. Alienists have distinguished many forms of mania, and the idea of a double personality is of not infrequent occurrence. No matter to diagnose the case too carefully, it is evident enough that here was a poor wretch with reason unhinged, fleeing from the abodes of men, untamable, dangerous—human abnormality at its worst.

As soon as we have said that, we have caught the first great suggestion of this story. Our problem, moral, physical, social, is the abnormal man. It meets us in a thousand forms. There are the unbalanced, the neurasthenic, the weak, the ignorant, the ineffective, the disheartened, the hypochondriac, the incompetent, the erring, the vicious, the brutal, the criminal. Our greatest problem is man: what can we do with him? As Jesus and the Twelve advance up the shore and see this poor creature rushing to meet them, they are facing that problem which, in some form or other, is the supreme problem of society—human abnormality.

- II. The incident affords us further an exhibition of the inability of society to meet this problem. How helpless the Gerasenes were! How helpless we feel in the presence of the abnormal man! And it is very interesting to note that our helplessness has the same threefold character as that of the Gerasenes.
- I. There was an ineffective theory. They said "demons," and supposed that they had spoken the last word. Nothing can be done with a man who has demons. And how easy it is to suppose that an explanation is a solution! The Gerasenes felt no responsibility, for they had explained the case. We smile at the superstition: we have scientific explanation. We say heredity, degeneracy, racial tendency, class perversion. We examine the conditions and recognize that the abnormality is inevitable, and conclude, just as the Gerasenes did,

that nothing can be done with such people. Our explanation may be more scientific than theirs, but even a scientific explanation is not a solution, and the theory remains ineffective.

- 2. There was also ineffective good-will. We are definitely told that the good people had tried everything possible. They had brought him to the city and had clothed him. They had tried again and again, even when he would persist in tearing off his garments. And now that he was living in the tombs, it is probable that they were bringing him food and leaving it where he could obtain it. The reason for the continuance of human abnormality is not that good people have not tried to help the unfortunate. But what a pitiful history of helpless good-will it is—the alms, and the gifts, and the food, and the clothing, the charities, and sentimental endeavors, and weak efforts to do good! How hard and sacrificingly society has tried, and how little society has succeeded!
- 3. And there was repressive action. They had tried chains and shackles. Perhaps the poor maniac bore still upon his body the broken fetters as he rushed down upon the company of Galileans. Society has always its chains. If we cannot cure abnormality, we can shackle it. We can lock people in prisons and asylums. We can crush the movings of discontent with police and soldiers. What enormous effort has society spent in the never-ending task of preventing the abnormal from doing harm! The problem in all its horror is epitomized in that maniac driven from the face of men.
- III. In contrast with all this, the story exhibits the method of Jesus. He is fully aware of the awful character of the problem before him. There can be no doubt that Jesus understands that the supreme human problem is the abnormal man. How does he meet the case?
- 1. Evidently he has a supreme confidence. The worst abnormality does not affright nor discourage him. Whatever may be thought of the historicity of some of the details of this incident, the full synoptic attestation of the main facts of the story would seem to make it certain that Jesus met the dangerous lunatic with calm confidence. And we shall not go too far, on the basis of the whole attitude of Jesus, if we decide that it was a faith in God, in himself, and in the man. Jesus faces human abnormality at its worst and believes that God is willing and able to cure it; he believes that he himself has the spiritual

power to be the agent of the cure; and he believes in the man as capable of cure. There we reach the supreme significance of Jesus. Abnormal conditions ought not to exist, need not exist, shall not exist. There is no such thing as a hopeless case. There is nobody beyond the reach of the mighty spiritual forces that are the supreme forces of the universe. A man with such a faith is invincible.

2. One sees in the method of Iesus, also, a sympathetic wisdom. The frenzied madman flies at the newcomer. Doubtless the calm approach of that strong, pure man, perhaps the only one whose eyes had never shown fear of the maniac, stopped him in his headlong course and silenced his loud cries. And as he came nearer, and felt the extraordinary influence of that personality, he was subdued. All this we can easily understand. Then Jesus commanded the evil spirit to come out of the man. And there our superior wisdom seems to set us above the Master. He seems to have believed in demons. and we do not. But if one employs the method of Jesus, the healing of human ills does not wait upon the theory of their origin. Jesus appeals to the man, asks him his name, humors him in the idea that the demons may go into the swine, and with his authoritative "begone" compels the man to realize that he is freed. It is no matter how far Jesus diagnosed the case scientifically. Whatever evil the man had, he need not have. So Jesus believed, so he made the man believe. It was the spiritual appeal to his manhood, and the man in the maniac responded.

There was an account a little while ago of a most interesting treatment of municipal criminals in Cleveland, where they were put upon their honor, the appeal to their manhood was made, and in almost every case they were responding. A municipal judge in Chicago made very much the same appeal with extraordinary results. No thoughtful man today dares to say how far the spiritual appeal to real manhood may go in nervous prostration, in mental unbalance, in lunacy, in sickness, in vice, in crime.

3. But we must not omit an important element in the method of Jesus if the incident of the swine may be included, namely, the disregard of the cost. The commentators have labored hard to show how the swine could have perished, and how Jesus could be defended in their destruction. One apologist has intimated that the carcasses

of the drowned animals might have been fished out of the water and their hams rendered marketable. So far as the fact is concerned, it is very possible that the swine might have been frightened by the last violent paroxysms of the maniac. But the important matter is not whether the swine were on the shore, but that they are in the story, and that the evangelists feel no concern to apologize for their loss. The labored efforts of the commentators never occurred to the men who were recording the salvation of a human life. What did it matter how many swine were killed?—a man was saved. In that same Cleveland experiment an objector asked whether it was not a more costly way of dealing with criminals; would the municipal farm make expenses? And the answer was shot back at him, "We are not making expenses, we are making men."

IV. But the Gerasenes thought otherwise. One of the most suggestive elements in the narrative is the exhibition of society's dread of the cost. The swineherds fled to the city with the news, and the people who had tried to tame the madman flocked out to see the wondrous sight. And there was the man clothed—the restored personality seeking seemly conditions of life—and in his right mind, normally complete. And when they heard how it happened, "and concerning the swine," they be sought Jesus to depart. How glaringly unfit it seems—the dismissal of the benefactor! It is the only instance in Jesus' ministry where people asked him to go away. And it is the only instance where his ministry cost the people anything. Society is ready for reforms in abnormal life, but they must not cost too much. At Gerasa, and today, the abnormality must continue because property is esteemed above personality. It halts all our reforms. Men have asked, without perceiving the hideous irony of the question: who would do the menial work if all were educated? Tenements, sweat-shops, child-labor, preventable accidents, the white-slave trade, ought to be abolished, but there must be no interference with vested interests. Have we not recently been reminded of Macaulay's famous saying "The law of gravitation would not now be accepted if it interfered with vested interests"?

This story of the swine that has troubled the commentators comes to us with the demand to have done with our hypocrisy and ask ourselves plainly the question: are we willing to pay the cost of salvation and reform? As a matter of fact, do not the stockholders in the swine-company prefer to have Jesus go away, and they will contribute from their dividends to provide the madman with clothes, with food, and with shackles?

V. Yet there really was no cost. We actually see here the worth of the emancipated man. What did Gerasa lose that day? A strong, good man is worth more to any community than hogs. The maniac has become a social being. He is ready to go with Jesus. He who fled from the face of man seeks the company of those whom, an hour before, he would have murderously attacked. He not only ceases to be a menace but desires to enter into social relations. A negative force is changed into a positive force. And more than that, the maniac becomes an apostle of salvation. He is willing to forego the social advantage of the company of Jesus and to betake himself to ministry among his friends. He becomes active in the very undertaking of which he was himself the beneficiary. To recur once more to the Cleveland experiment, the municipal criminals were found to be active agents in the reclamation of other men.

So the cure of the demoniac may suggest the possibilities of spiritual forces, unselfishly and wisely put into operation, to meet the disease, the pauperism, the misery, the vice, the crime, and all the abnormalities of today; and while it warns us that doubtless we must be prepared for heavy cost, it cheers us with the assurance of untold gain.

THE GREEK ELEMENT IN PAUL'S LETTERS

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It is now just twenty years since Dr. Hatch gave his lectures on "The Influence of Greek Ideas and Usages on the Christian Church"—a course in which he did the work of a pioneer. But these lectures do not deal directly with the New Testament. Their field is the second century and the early part of the third. They seem to assume, what Loofs has more recently said, that the decisive beginnings of the gradual Hellenization of Christianity are to be sought in the apologists of the second century. It is the aim of the present article to carry the investigation back into the New Testament, and to ask, in particular, what influence Greek thought had upon the teaching of the apostle Paul.

The limit of space and the aim of the series of articles of which this is a part exclude all detailed discussion. What we can give will be a rather brief survey of the subject. Nor is it imagined that this will be complete, or that its judgment of the various data will satisfy every reader. The field is wide and in places dark, and there is chance for difference of judgment regarding the origin of this or that feature. All will agree, however, that the subject is highly important for every teacher of the New Testament and New Testament times.

We will begin with Paul's conception of God. That this was deeply and broadly Jewish and Christian, a conception of God as one and as the heavenly Father, is indeed manifest in all the letters, and yet here and there one may note a distinctly Greek or Hellenistic tinge in the thought. Thus, in the first place, to speak of the "form of God" (Phil. 2:6) suggests a writer who is outside the sphere of pure Judaism, whose fundamental law forbade the making of any likeness of the divine Being; and the use of this word "form" with the related word "fashion" (Phil. 2:8) reveals a distinction that was made by the Greek philosophers.² Un-Jewish also and suggestive of the Greek's

¹ Dogmengeschichte, 1906, p. 714.

² See Lightfoot, Philippians, pp. 127-33.

analytical method is Paul's discrimination between "Godhead" $(\theta \epsilon \delta \tau \eta s)$ and "divinity" $(\theta \epsilon \iota \delta \tau \eta s)$, and treating each of these as an attribute of God (Rom. 1:10; Col. 2:0). Again, when Paul speaks of those that "by nature are no gods," it is implied that he would speak of the true God as being such by nature—a thought suggestive of Greek philosophy. It appears as though we should judge in the same manner of the apostle's mode of argument in Rom. 3:20, 30. Here he infers that God is God of the gentiles because he is one. He does not appeal, as a Christian might, to the character of God. nor does he appeal, as a Jew might, to the record of Genesis, which traces the origin of all men to Adam and Eve, but he argues from the oneness of God, a method of which we may at least say that it accords with the fact that Paul was a Hellenized Iew. The influence of Greek philosophy is more apparent in the declaration attributed to Paul in Acts 17:28, where he says of God, "in him we live, and move, and have our being." This conception of a divine environment of our physical being harmonizes with what Paul's fellow-Cilician, the Stoic Chrysippus, and Paul's fellow-townsman, the Stoic Zeno, taught. And finally, Paul is on un-Jewish ground, whether it is distinctly Hellenistic or not, when he describes God as "The Fulness" (Col. 1:19). The manner in which this term is introduced suggests that it was well known in Colossae, presumably a term used by the false teachers whose activity threatened the church and occasioned the letter. What Paul meant by this striking term may be learned from Col. 2:9, and more especially from its use in Eph. 1:23; 3:19; 4:13 which was written at the same time with Colossians. The "Fulness," according to these passages, designates the character of God, which was manifested in Jesus and which was made the goal of all his true followers.3

We turn now from Paul's thought of God to his thought of Jesus. Here also the main stock is obviously Jewish. The Messiahship of Jesus is fundamental in all the earlier letters. Paul's doctrine of Christ, if we except certain points to be noticed, was based on his own experience and was practical. But there is an element in the prison epistles which can only be explained with the aid of the Greek conception of the Logos. It takes us into a new world of thought, to

³ See Von Soden, Comm. on Colossians.

which neither the teaching of Jesus nor the Old Testament furnishes any real parallel. We find that the Alexandrian Philo called the Logos "the man according to God's image" (De confus. ling., 28; De leg. sacr., 3. 31), and Paul speaks of the Son as "the image of the invisible God" (Col. 1:15), and defines his relation to the universe in language closely akin to that of Philo when he speaks of the Logos. Thus Paul says that Christ is the "firstborn of all creation," that all things, visible and invisible,4 were created "through him and unto him," and that "in him all things consist" (Col. 1:16, 17). As all things are here said by Paul to have been created "unto him," so he elsewhere declares that it "was God's good pleasure to sum up all things in Christ," i.e., to bring them all into such a relation to him that he should be manifest as their unifying head (Eph. 1:10). Here belongs also the famous Philippian passage (2:5-11), if indeed it means, as seems to me probable, that the Logos, the divine and eternal ideal of the Messiah, was manifested in the historical Jesus.

This Hellenistic element in Paul's conception of Christ, though relatively unimportant and clearly speculative, has been, as is well known, of immeasurable influence in the history of Christian doctrine.

It is noteworthy, when we pass to Paul's conception of man, that he, like Philo, speaks of man both as a twofold and a threefold being (I Cor. 5:3; II Thess. 5:23), and that the latter view is found in New Testament writers only in the Greek Luke (Luke 1:46) and in the Hellenistic author of Hebrews (4:12). Paul's habitual mode of speaking of man recognizes him as made up of two parts, and in so far has no suggestion of Greek influence. But this cannot be said of the nearer characterization of the constituent elements of man. Thus Paul⁵ uses Platonic language when he speaks of the "outward and the inward man" (II Cor. 4:16; Eph. 3:16), and his conception of the relation of these parts points in the same direction. For the body is thought of as being a burdensome garment of the spirit (II Cor. 5:2-4), which somehow separates the spirit from its true home (II Cor. 5:8)—a conception which he shares with the Hellenistic book of Wisdom (9:15) and with Plato (Phaedo, I, 391, 411). With

⁴ A Platonic classification.

⁵ Philo uses the same expression (see Holtzmann, Neutestamentliche Theologie, II, 13).

the Platonic doctrine of ideas, which Windelband calls an "inspired conception," Paul probably reveals a kinship when he speaks of a divine and eternal "house" for the spirit, which is to replace the present "earthly house" or body (II Cor. 5:1).

But practically far more important was Paul's introduction into Christian thought of the Greek (Stoic) conception of "conscience" (συνείδησις). The term is found in the New Testament only in Paul's letters, in Hebrews, and I Peter. In Paul's use, which "corresponds accurately to that of his Stoic contemporaries," the word has a somewhat wider significance than our "conscience" (e.g., I Cor. 8:8–10; comp. I Cor. 4:4), yet in general it has an ethical sense and denotes the faculty or power of judging the moral quality of actions (Rom. 2:15; I Cor. 10:29). Through this one term Paul has made us heirs of one of the noblest achievements of Greek thought.

With this term we may pass over to the Christian life. And it is to be noted that Hellenistic influence on Paul's thought in this broad field is by no means uniformly apparent. When, for example, he speaks of the way of entering upon the new life, the way of repentance and faith, the personal acceptance of Jesus as Lord and Savior, his thought is Jewish or Jewish-Christian. It is uninfluenced by Greek ideas. But as we proceed from that which is inner and vital to that which is external and incidental, we come upon a more definite Greek element.

It may be remarked by way of introduction to this section that the language which Paul uses in describing the Christian life is to a considerable extent derived from the Greek world. The Greek theater and stadium with its corruptible crown for the victor, the Graeco-Roman amphitheater and the triumphal processions, the Greek pedagogue leading his charge to school, the Graeco-Roman steward or head slave of the household, Graeco-Roman legal practice, and the Greek "mysteries"—all these features of Greek life and others lent color to Paul's vocabulary of the Christian's course, and through him to ours. They show Paul not only a Hellenist but a Hellenist with cosmopolitan sympathies and outlook. The same is implied in his apparent recognition of certain features of the Stoic

⁶ They furnished our sacred writings with this important word, if nothing more.

⁷ See Canon Hicks in Studia Biblica, Vol. IV.

. ideal of the wise man, who practices moderation and takes thought for things honorable, lovely, and of good report (Phil. 4:8-11).

In his use of Scripture Paul seems not to have been wholly uninfluenced by the Alexandrian method. Once he allegorizes a simple historical statement (Gal. 4:24), and he appears to have regarded the Old Testament as containing a strictly predictive element (e.g., I Cor. 15:3-4). Both these principles of interpretation originated with the Greeks.⁸

Paul's doctrine of the last things, from the signs preceding the Parousia to the issues of the final judgment, is mainly Jewish in form, but in rejecting the resurrection of the flesh he was nearer the Greek philosophy than he was to the rabbis of his time.

In his conception of Christianity as an organism and as a cult Paul reveals an even more marked influence of Greek thought. Thus, in the first place, the designation of the Christian body as an ecclesia points to Greek history rather than to Jewish. The associations of the word are quite unlike those of the synagogue. It suggests the political status of the free self-governing Greek city, not the rule of hierarchy or of scribes. It meant the assembly of citizens called out to consult or act for the common good. Thus the use and associations of the word in Christian history and at the present are somewhat narrower and more religious than in Paul's time.

In the matter of organization we may regard it as an indication of Paul's consideration for the Greek love of freedom that he laid so little stress upon it. The church at Corinth, of which we have fuller knowledge than of any other of Paul's foundations, seems not to have received any organization whatever from the apostle. Moreover, his letters together speak of but two offices, and neither the letters (exclusive of the pastoral epistles) nor Acts ever refers to a personal participation by him in the appointment of deacons in any church, and his letters never directly refer to an appointment of elders by him or with his co-operation. At Corinth, if not elsewhere, he allowed the fullest play of individualism, only intervening when there was danger of spiritual loss through the exaggeration of individual freedom. This is apparent, for example, in the account of

⁸ See my History of Interpretation, pp. 81 f., 84 f., 39-41.

religious meetings (I Cor. 14:26), where everyone took such part as . he chose and even women participated (I Cor. 11:5).

Here also in the account of these public meetings in Corinth we have a further illustration of the Hellenism of Paul. He says that a man should pray with uncovered head (I Cor. 11:4), which was not the Jewish but the Greek custom, and a little later (I Cor. 11:14), in declaring that "nature itself" teaches certain things about the wearing of long hair, we are perhaps to see a Greek mode of argument (so Jülicher and Cheyne).

It remains to notice Paul's conception of baptism and the Lord's Supper. The practice of baptism for the dead (I Cor. 15:29), which existed among his converts at Corinth and which Paul did not condemn in his letter, suggests that these converts saw a profoundly mysterious value in the rite, analogous to the power supposed to be exercised by sacred acts in their own mysteries.⁹

However this may be, Paul's conception of ordinary baptism offers much that appears to be original, and the question naturally arises whether this conception was developed uninfluenced by his Greek environment. Possibly one can go further and ask whether the very existence of the rite is not suggestive of Greek influence. For Jesus neither baptized nor gave his followers directions to establish such a rite. It is well known that the Gospels, with the exception of Matt. 28:19, have no trace of Christian baptism, and that they represent Jesus as teaching most positively that admission into his kingdom depended only on spiritual conditions. Moreover, Conybeare has advanced textual arguments to show that this passage in Matthew was not a part of the earliest written tradition.

It is true that Jesus himself submitted to baptism, and this fact may well have been of weight in the establishment of the rite in the earliest church. Yet the radical difference between John's baptism and that which was practiced in the Pauline churches is not to be overlooked. John baptized unto the forgiveness of sins and so unto the coming kingdom. His rite was symbolic of preparation for the kingdom of the Messiah. It had no direct personal relation to the

⁹ Pfleiderer, Early Christian Conceptions of Christ, p. 13, saw a close parallel in the Orphic supplication for the souls of sinful forefathers.

Messiah himself.¹⁰ But baptism in Paul's churches was fundamentally unlike this. It was indeed a mystic symbol, like the earlier baptism, but its content was different. It was not simply a baptism of preparation for something to come, but a rite which recognized the accomplishment of a critical step in the experience of the believer. Again, it was directly and deeply personal. It was "unto" or "into" Christ Jesus. Still further, its significance was in Paul's mind bound up with a particular event in the experience of Christ, viz., his death. The immersion of the believer signified a mystic communion with the burial of Christ, and his return from the water a communion with Christ's resurrection (Rom. 6:3). This mystic communion led Paul to speak of the baptized believer as having "put Christ on" (Gal. 3:27), and so as being bound to live a life wholly to God (Rom. 6:9, 10).

Again, this rite in the Pauline view of it has yet one more element of vast significance. It is accompanied with the gift of the Holy Spirit (Acts 19:1-7; I Cor. 2:12; II Cor. 1:22; Eph. 4:30). This thought is closely related to the view that the believer enters in baptism into vital communion with Christ, for that communion is of course not thinkable apart from the spirit of Christ. What is here to be especially noted is that Paul appears to have regarded the rite somewhat as a condition of the reception of a spiritual gift. Yet it should also be remembered that he sometimes spoke of baptism in an almost disparaging manner, declaring that he had not been sent to baptize but to preach, and giving thanks that those whom he had baptized were few in number (I Cor. 1:14-17). This thanksgiving may possibly imply in that baptism was commonly thought to give the administrant of the rite a certain influence over the one baptized somewhat analogous to the power of the mystagogue over those whom he helped to initiate into the mysteries.

Now it is obvious that this general conception of baptism is widely unlike that which John practiced, and also that, in so far as it makes the gift of God's spirit dependent on an outward and material rite, it is foreign to the teaching of Jesus. But there is no particular element

¹⁰ Holtzmann, Neut. Theol. II, 180, thinks John's baptism had reference to the birth of the Messiah.

¹¹ So Heinrici.

in the conception which points clearly to Greek influence. It is not plain that Paul sympathized with the practice of baptism for the benefit of the dead, or that in avoiding the administration of baptism he confessed himself a believer in the view that this ministry gave a man power over the baptized person, or, finally, that he thought of the bestowal of the spirit as absolutely dependent on participation in the rite. But it does seem probable that the existence of the rite throughout a church whose founder had not instituted it, and the profoundly mystical import of it in the Pauline church, are best explained by the assumption that Paul and other Christian leaders were somewhat influenced by their Greek environment.

We have now to ask whether the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as presented by Paul, shows traces of Greek influence. There is unquestionably a wide difference between the observance as reflected in the Gospel of Mark and that which Paul sought to have at Corinth. Jesus according to Mark gave his disciples pieces of bread which he had just broken, and said, "This is my body," and a cup of wine with the words, "This is my blood of the covenant which is shed for many." There was no spoken command to eat or drink, and no injunction to keep the supper in remembrance of him. It has therefore with some force been questioned on documentary evidence whether Jesus contemplated a permanent memorial observance. Be that as it may, we have not yet touched the most significant departure of Paul's doctrine from the simple observance in Mark. This is contained in a warning to his converts against idolatry (I Cor. 10:14-22). He speaks of the supper by way of illustration, and yet gives us a clear insight into the deep meaning which he attached to the rite. Of the cup he says, "Is it not a communion (or participation) of the blood of Christ?" and of the bread, "Is it not a communion of the body of Christ?" And he continues with a parallel from the cult of the Israelites and from that of the gentiles, saving in substance that the Israelites who ate of the sacrifices had communion with the altar, and that the gentile who ate of his sacrifices had communion with demons. So then as regards the underlying significance of the sacred acts, one and the same word served for the Tew, the Christian, and the gentile. These acts meant in each case a certain fellowship, but they differed in the objects of this fellowship. Through the use of

certain materials of food and drink the worshiper confessed that he belonged either to Jehovah, to Christ, or, as Paul would have it, to the demons; through the sacred meal he cultivated fellowship with the object of his worship.

Now two questions arise: first, was this conception implicit in the supper as Jesus observed it with his disciples? and second, if it was not, can we think of it as developed on Jewish ground?

If Paul's parallel involved in his thought that Jesus like Jehovah and the gentile deities was properly the object of worship in the sacred meal—an hypothesis not altogether probable in the light of all that Paul says of Jesus-then, obviously, the original observance cannot be regarded as the germ out of which Paul's conception was developed. Jesus worshiped God, and there is no evidence that in this matter he expected his followers to depart from his example. But further, looking at the synoptic account, it seems clear, in the first place, that any interpretation which makes the two acts identical in meaning is against the words of Jesus. The bread, indeed, was a symbol of the body, but the cup was not in the same way a symbol of the blood. "This," said Jesus, "is my blood of the covenant," or my covenant-blood. Here a covenant comes into view, which is obviously, as Matthew and Luke expressly say, a new covenant. Thus the primary, if not exclusive, significance of the blood is at once determined; it seals a covenant. Partaking of this cup therefore naturally signifies the personal appropriation of the covenant. Of this significance of the cup Paul's interpretation of the supper in I Cor., chap. 10, has no trace. What he says, moreover, that participation in the cup means fellowship with the blood of Jesus, brings this act into parallelism with the gentile participation in the cup of their gods. Whether Paul in this interpretation of the cup was at all influenced by the everywhere prevailing sacred feasts in honor of the gods, or supposed that he was standing on Old Testament ground, is not clear. The view that the Israelites who ate of the sacrifices had communion with the altar looks like a reading of the fact in the light of the ethnic cults.

But if Paul's conception of the cup is not implicit in the evangelist's record, is his conception of the bread? The bread symbolized the Master's body, and its being broken for the disciples signified that

breaking of his body on the cross which was to be for their benefit. Whether Jesus told his disciples to eat the bread or not, his act in passing it to them of course implied this. But of the meaning of this act he said nothing. That it might mean, as Paul says, communion with the body of Christ, seems probable; that it must mean that we cannot confidently affirm. It may have had in Jesus' thought, as its juxtaposition with the Jewish Passover and as the tradition in Matthew and Luke suggest, simply a memorial significance. And it is to be noted that this significance is recognized in Paul's own account of the institution (I Cor. II:24, 25), though not in his interpretation in the preceding chapter.

Now this general conception of the act, which makes it a memorial of Jesus' self-sacrificing love, is of course germane to the Lord's fundamental teaching that his disciples were to regard him as the revealer of God. But the idea that eating the bread signified mystic participation in the material body of Christ takes us completely out of the sphere of the simple memorial. To regard this more specific and mystical interpretation as influenced by the ethnic cult with which Paul was familiar is simply to accept the hint of the apostle's own parallel in the Corinthian letter.¹²

We have now completed our survey of the Greek element in Paul's writings. A word only, in conclusion, in reference to the significance of this element. Its existence shows a more or less conscious endeavor to adapt the new faith to the Greek world. These views which we have pointed out as Hellenistic or Greek do not present us a development of what the oldest gospel tradition contains. While therefore they are not, in the strict sense of the word, Christian interpretation of the gospel, they are valuable either as containing rays of light from foreign sources or as early attempts to render the gospel intelligible and potent in the midst of a Greek civilization.

¹² Comp. Wendland, Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur, 1907, p. 127.

THE EXPANDING CHURCH¹

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The first Christian community became the expanding church by what seemed at the time a catastrophe, namely, through the drastic persecution that first found violent expression in the death of that vigorous propagandist, Stephen. Stephen himself had come into official prominence because "the number of the disciples was multiplying," and therefore problems of administration were becoming more complex in the early Christian community. From the first that community had been expanding daily, so that "the number of the disciples multiplied in Jerusalem exceedingly." Its growth did not come exclusively from the common people, for "a great company of the priests were obedient to the faith." But a new era began when persecution so scattered the Christian community that its members were to be found "throughout the regions of Judea and Samaria."

Roughly speaking, the period of the early community may be regarded as that of the Twelve; the expanding church seems to be the work of the evangelists; their work comes into collision with Saul,⁵ and he initiates a new era in the history of the faith. We are concerned for the present with the work of the evangelists, Stephen and Philip, Acts, chaps. 6–8. Stephen precipitated a crisis and Philip utilized its outcome to the advantage of the faith. In the meantime, the Twelve recede into the background; despite the persecution of the community they remain in Jerusalem while the faith spreads. All are scattered "except the apostles." Not till after success has been attained in Samaria do these supposed leaders have a place in the work there. Incidentally, on the way home, they "preached the gospel to many villages of the Samaritans." It is the evangelists apparently who awaken the circle of the Twelve to a sense of the

¹ This study covers the period included in the International Sunday School Lessons for February 21, 28, and March 7.

² Acts 6:1. ⁴ Acts 8:1. ⁶ Acts 8:1. ⁸ Acts 8:25.

³ Acts 6:7. 5 Acts 7:58; 8:13. 7 Acts 8:14.

Palestinian world outside Jerusalem. Before long Paul will shock them into an imperial vision.

At the present time our attention may be directed to the new blood represented in Stephen and Philip. These men are two of seven who had recently come into power in the early Christian community. Their office as defined by the Twelve is narrow; they are to "serve tables."9 Chosen by the whole society on the basis of proved character, administrative grasp, and religious fervor, they no sooner have their hands upon the affairs of the community than they demonstrate their capacity for aggressive and initiatory work of the highest order. Presently they are outdoing those whose time was so precious that they could not "forsake the word of God."10 Thus it came about that what seemed like unworthy bickering and disaffection over secondary matters¹¹ worked out for the bringing into splendid leadership of potential material in the community that otherwise might diffidently have refrained from vigorous self-expression. Around the Twelve there was built up through this incident a secondary circle that speedily became primary, so far as initiative work determines rank.

Both Stephen and Philip gained their hearing, in the first instance, through their ability to do before the multitudes things that were regarded as marvelous and as indicative of league with God himself: "Stephen, full of grace and power, wrought great wonders and signs among the people;"12" and the multitudes gave heed with one accord unto the things that were spoken by Philip, when they heard, and saw the signs which he did. For from many of those which had unclean spirits, they came out, crying with a loud voice: and many that were palsied, and that were lame, were healed. And there was much joy in that city."13 Certainly there should have been joy; and why not as certainly a careful hearing and a ready heeding to the message of one so endowed? There is no reason to doubt that Stephen and Philip were able to do the things here credited to them. Their effects were wrought apparently in cases of functional derangement, not structural; we are learning not to set limits to the power of faith, notably religious faith, in the correction of disorders that fundamentally are neurotic.

9 Acts 6:2.

11 Acts 6:1.

¹³ Acts 8:6–8.

10 Acts 6:2.

12 Acts 6:8.

And religious faith never is so seemingly limitless in its achievements as when a community first is swayed by the impulses that are generated through a fresh sense of the reality and nearness of God, a sense begotten by that intimacy of contact with the divine which comes through a discovery or rediscovery of the easy accessibility of God. And it was as a discoverer and clear annunciator of the mode of access to God that Jesus was becoming, under the hands of these men, the founder of a new religious society.

But that same fresh, vivid sense of the reality and nearness of God, which accounts for the ability of Stephen and Philip to work marvels for the physical side of their hearers, is the genesis of those points of religious view which brought them into clash with the sophisticated religion of the day. Obviously such directness of fellowship with God and sense of the influence of His Spirit as these men gave evidence of enjoying bear implications that make for the undoing of the more formal and external aspects of religion. And it is apparently to these implications, unexpressed or expressed, that their opposers make objection in the terms of their charge: "We have heard him speak blasphemous words against Moses and against God. This man ceaseth not to speak words against this holy place, and the law: for we have heard him say, that this Jesus of Nazareth shall destroy this place, and shall change the customs which Moses delivered unto

It is true that the narrative of Acts states that these charges were framed by "suborned men" and "false witnesses;" but it is also obvious from the address of Stephen in reply to these charges that his words were open to this construction. Apparently the center of the objection to Stephen's position is that it implies a great lessening of the value given to the Temple as the abode of Jehovah. With the loss of the dominance of the Temple there would go inevitably much of "the law" and many of "the customs which Moses delivered." Now it is very clear from the attitude of Stephen in Acts 7:44–50 that his convictions about God's nearness and accessibility had shaken him loose from the traditional conception about the Temple and its worth as the abode of the Most High. Such an exposition as this, doubtless not now expressed by him for the first

¹⁴ Acts 6:11-14.

time, would form a justifiable basis for the charges preferred against him. So that both the wonders worked by the evangelists, with the consequent favorable attitude of the multitudes, and the fundamental religious positions taken, with the consequent disfavor from the religious leaders, had their genesis in those increments of personal power begotten by that directness of approach and ease of access to God, the sense of which had been generated by Jesus through both life and words.

The purpose of the lengthy historical review made by Stephen in his defense seems to be threefold: (1) to establish that Moses had promised a prophet like himself, for whom therefore the nation ought to be in expectancy; (2) to convince them that Moses on whom they now prided themselves had great difficulty in gaining a hearing and a following from their fathers, hence presumably the same was to be expected for the promised prophet; (3) to prove that on the basis of their own scriptures it was right to assert that "the Most High dwelleth not in houses made with hands." With the establishment of the last point Stephen turns suddenly, almost savagely, to the application of the whole matter to his hearers: "Ye do always resist the Holy Ghost: as your fathers did, so do ye." They spurned the delivering purposes of Moses; ye have now become betrayers and murderers of the successor promised by Moses. The effort had been to bring a person and a history they revered into the service of a person they were despising, and to the stemming of certain phases of that history which they were duplicating. The effort failed. History had already repeated itself, and was beyond recall. He who was bold enough to recount it fell for his temerity.

Thus appeased, religious bigotry took on new energy and determination. Protest, hitherto smothered, became open and more violent and extensive in expression. The new religious society was hounded and persecuted until scattered abroad through the provinces. But the aims of the persecutors were defeated. They had simply sent off into every corner of the country the fire they had endeavored to extinguish. What they thought would mean the death of the Christian community became to it the revelation of the undying vitality of its life: "They therefore that were scattered abroad went about preaching the word." 15

¹⁵ Acts 8:4.

The city of Samaria received its quota of the refugees, among them one of the Seven, Philip. He seems to have begun promptly to proclaim "unto them the Christ," to preach "good tidings concerning the kingdom of God and the name of Jesus Christ." Because of the mighty works accompanying his exposition of his ideas he had a favorable hearing, initial to a hearty response. One could wish that there had been preserved for us some adequate report of the content of the addresses by which these early propagandists wrought so effectively. Though we have several long speeches reported in Acts, these are for the most part defenses or apologies for positions already taken, not the first efforts to introduce their ideas to a new audience. Yet we are able, perhaps correctly, to infer that the burden of their effort was to prove that the historical Jesus of Nazareth was in truth the expected Messiah, and worthy, therefore, of treatment as such, by allegiance and worship.

Apparently many of the forms of marvel wrought by the early Christian propagandists had to do with human needs which were already being met with greater or less success by practitioners of various classes. We know that the casting-out of demons, or exorcism, was commonly practiced by the sons of those who accused Jesus of being in league with Beelzebub. And sorcerers of rare skill were able greatly to extend the range of their effective handling of nervous disorders, especially in communities where they were able once to gain the confidence of the populace. Such a one was flourishing in Samaria at the time of the visit of Philip. 18 But he was greatly outdone by the power manifested through Philip. Undoubtedly the source of this power proved a serious puzzle to Simon, the master sorcerer. So long as the facts were before him without any reputed explanation, he seems to have been deeply impressed. But the coming of the apostles from Jerusalem, with the open talk about the Holy Spirit as the dynamic force of the movement, and the seemingly obvious and mechanical mode for the transference of this secret and effective power from man to man gave a new cast for the whole matter to Simon. It took on the aspect of something open to easy commerce, and hence to be had for the purchasing. It looked like a higher form of his own art of sorcery, and he was eager for initiation into the

mystery of its methods. It is not made evident, indeed, in the narrative that the outcomes of the new gift were other than what seemed to be a higher sorcery.¹⁹ Certainly such effects as were fundamentally personal and moral would not be obvious to the scrutiny of one whose interests were primarily thaumaturgic.

Undoubtedly the most serious problem that faced the earliest propagators of the conviction that Jesus of Nazareth was the Christ lay in the fact that his whole career, and most notably its climax, gave denial to the validity of the conviction when judged by the standards of messianic activity prevalent in that time. A crucified Christ was a stumbling-block to the Jews and foolishness to the Greeks. That the Christ should have suffered was an intolerable offense to the contemporary sense of what was appropriate for the messianic career. From those whom Iesus had so impressed that they could give him no less than messianic worth there was demanded, therefore, if they would make their estimate prevail with others, the proof that despite his form of reception by his people and his death he was nevertheless truly the Christ. And no proof could be made convincing that was not grounded in the sacred writings. Therefore the early Christians diligently searched the Scriptures for those passages which would lend themselves to an application to the career of Jesus as actually lived. Wherever suffering was portrayed, there prophetic forecast of the career of the Christ was assumed, and the passage was made to do service as an apologetic for the interpretation of Jesus as the Christ.

We observe this process under way in the recorded relations of Philip to the Ethiopian treasurer.²⁰ That the Isaianic paragraph was not generally regarded in Jesus' time as messianic seems clear from the question, "I pray thee, of whom speaketh the prophet this? of himself, or of some other?" It is one of those prophetic passages the application of which was not and is not so obvious as is generally the case where prophetic meaning is being considered. This ambiguity and uncertainty of reference made it easily possible for the early propagandists to employ effectively a sketch that seemed so accurately to portray those features of the career of Jesus that were most puzzling and objectionable to those who would regard him as the Christ. It is

not easy to overestimate the quickness and certainty of conviction that could be wrought by the skilful employment, upon minds susceptible to the scriptural appeal, of such passages as this Isaianic description, when accepted and explicated as a forecast of the messianic career as assumedly wrought out by Jesus. It is to be believed that, even among the influential and learned, results would often come with the speed and apparent ease seen in the case of the Ethiopian treasurer. And subsequently he could himself establish his recently formed conviction by a searching of the Scriptures for the portrayal of suffering and rejection which were frequently the lot of the servant of Jehovah.

Evidently the work of the evangelists was not confined to those incidents alone that have become part of our record of the apostolic age, for we are told that Philip "preached the gospel to all the cities till he came to Caesarea." Their work constituted what may perhaps rightly be regarded as the epoch of transition from the narrower activity of the Twelve to the broadly conceived activity of Paul. It is their work that calls out the fiercest antagonism of Saul; the impact of it upon Saul is the agency for the making of Paul.

²¹ Acts 8:40.

Work and Workers

REV. OZORA S. DAVIS, PH.D., D.D., a graduate of Dartmouth College, Hartford Theological Seminary, and of the University of Leipzig, has accepted the presidency of the Chicago Theological Seminary.

REV. F. A. GAST, D.D., professor of Hebrew and Old Testament Science for the last thirty-eight years in the Theological Seminary of the Reformed Church in the United States, of Lancaster, Pa., has resigned, and has been made professor *emeritus*. He is succeeded by Rev. Irwin Hoch DeLong, Ph.D., a former graduate of the same school, a student of Semitics in the University of Chicago, a Doctor of Philosophy of the University of Strassburg, and for the last two years instructor and assistant in the same department with Professor Gast.

DR. J. M. S. Baljon, professor of Patristic and New Testament Literature in the University of Utrecht, Holland, died May 16, 1908. He had prepared several volumes of commentaries on the New Testament, also a Critical Hand-Book on the New Testament, and an Introduction to the New Testament.

A COPY of the Mazarin Bible in two volumes, printed in 1455, sold in London at the Lord Amherst sale last December for \$10,500. The Lenox Library copy in New York City cost Mr. Lenox \$2,000 in 1847.

Professor George H. Locke, of Macdonald College, Quebec, a specialist in religious pedagogical science, has accepted the position of chief librarian of the city of Toronto, Ontario.

A NEW edition of the Welsh Bible has just been issued by the British and Foreign Bible Society. The earliest Welsh Bible, translated by Bishop William Morgan, was published in 1588. Bishop Richard Parry revised this version, basing his alterations to a considerable extent upon King James's Version of 1611, and his revision, issued in 1620, still remains the standard Welsh text. In this new edition, Dr. Parry's text has been compared with the English Revised Version, and, wherever differences occur, the revisers' readings, together with their variant renderings, have been translated into Welsh and inserted as footnotes. Archaic Welsh words are also explained in footnotes, while some marginal alternatives, references, and chronological notes in the former edition are omitted. This edition was prepared by Mr. D. Rhys-Phillips, librarian at Swansea, assisted in difficult points by Sir John Rhys, principal of Jesus College, Oxford.

Book Reviews

A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on the Book of Esther. By Lewis Bayles Paton. (International Critical Commentary Series.) New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. 339. \$2.25.

At last the English student has a first-class commentary on the Book of Esther. Much has been written in recent years concerning various subjects in the book, even a few commentaries have appeared, but the first full and adequate treatment in English is the recently published commentary by Professor L. B. Paton, of the Hartford Theological Seminary, the latest volume in the International Critical Commentary Series. It contains—excluding the indices—306 pages, 118 of which are devoted to introductory matters, the rest to the detailed comments.

Professor Paton shows himself a master of the extensive literature on the book. It is rather interesting to note what he says concerning the equipment of American libraries: "As a result of my search I have reached the conclusion that, with the exception of MSS, all the books that a student of the Old Testament needs can now be found in American libraries quite as well as in those of Europe."

The detailed comments are sane, cautious, and complete, meeting the needs of the student who desires an adequate knowledge of the narrative of Esther. The author has very wisely included the additions found in the Greek versions in his comments, as the "earliest extant commentary" on the Book of Esther.

The introductory material is discussed under five general heads. Under the first the author indicates the various positions assigned to Esther in Hebrew and Greek manuscripts, and in printed editions of the Old Testament. The text as found in different Hebrew and Greek recensions is treated at length in the succeeding section. This calls for a consideration of the additions to the book, which appear in all the recensions of the Greek text. These additions, the author believes, are due to a desire "to supply the religious element that is so conspicuously absent from the Hebrew edition." The remaining three sections deal with questions of higher criticism, canonicity, and the history of interpretation from the earliest times to the year 1908.

In general, the views adopted by the author concerning disputed questions are those which are suggested in the more recent literature on the various subjects: but Professor Paton has by no means simply restated the conclusions of others; he has investigated the problems for himself, and has formed his conclusions on the basis of his independent investigation. It is not difficult to follow the discussion, for the successive steps of the arguments are carefully stated. Views with which the author must disagree also receive fair and full treatment.

As is now universally done, Ahasuerus is identified with Xerxes. The author believes the book to have been written "after the persecutions of Antiochus Epiphanes and the deliverance by Judas Maccabaeus, in 165 B.C.," by a "Persian Jew who had come to live in Judaea and wished to commend the observance of Purim to the people of the land by an account of the way in which this feast originated."

This naturally raises the question, to what extent the Book of Esther is historical, and whether its theory concerning the origin of the feast of Purim is correct. To the discussion of these two problems the author devotes considerable space. In favor of the historical character he points out (1) that the book wishes to be taken as historical; (2) that it was regarded as historical by the Jewish authorities who admitted it into the Canon: (3) that a few of its statements are confirmed by external evidence. though most of them are without such confirmation. Then he calls attention to various difficulties raised by the book, discussing each at considerable length: (1) some of the statements in the book are contradicted by the Greek historians; (2) a number of incidents recorded in Esther, although they cannot be shown to be unhistorical, are so contrary to Persian law and custom as to be improbable; (3) the book contains several inconsistencies with itself; (4) it contains a number of statements which cannot be proved to be untrue, but which are so intrinsically improbable that one has difficulty in believing that they are historical. The results of the investigation are summarized in these words:

In view of these facts the conclusions seem inevitable that the Book of Esther is not historical, and that it is doubtful whether even a historical kernel underlies its narrative. It comes from the same age, and belongs to the same class of literature as the Jewish romances, Daniel, Tobit, Judith, III Ezra, and the story of Ahikar. Its main ideas are derived from the same cycle of legends from which these works have drawn their materials, and in many particulars it bears a close resemblance to them.

What, then, is the real origin of the feast of Purim? Some believe that it is of Jewish origin, some trace it to Greece, some to Persia, while many hold that it was derived, directly or indirectly, from the Babylonians. These several theories, with their many variations, are all carefully tested. Professor Paton believes, with many recent writers, that the feast came from Babylon, and that there is a connection between Mordecai and the

Babylonian deity Marduk, and between Esther and the Babylonian goddess Ishtar, though he admits that much uncertainty remains as to the exact Babylonian counterpart of the Purim feast:

It appears that, while the feast of Purim is probably borrowed either directly from Babylonia, or indirectly by way of Persia, no certainty has yet been reached as to the precise Babylonian feast from which it is derived. The story which accompanies it has many points of similarity to Babylonian mythology, but no close counterpart to it has yet been discovered in Babylonian literature.

A curious phenomenon of the Book of Esther is the omission of the name of God. Various explanations have been suggested, and some have sought to remove the peculiarity by finding anagrams of the divine name in certain passages. The author very properly rejects these fanciful endeavors, and suggests that the right explanation may be found in the occasion for which the book was written:

Esther was meant to be read at the annual merrymaking of Purim, for which the Mishna lays down the rule that people are to drink until they are unable to distinguish between "Blessed be Mordecai!" and "Cursed be Haman!" On such occasions the name of God might be profaned, if it occurred in the reading; and, therefore, it was deemed best to omit it altogether.

Professor Paton does not hold a very high estimate of the moral and religious value of Esther.

The book [says he] is so conspicuously lacking in religion that it should never have been included in the Canon of the Old Testament, but should have been left with Judith and Tobit among the apocryphal writings.

And he expresses full agreement with the words of Luther, "I am so hostile to this book that I wish it did not exist, for it Judaizes too much and has too much heathen naughtiness."

The foregoing illustrations may be sufficient to indicate the general attitude of the commentary. The reader may hesitate at times to follow Professor Paton all the way, but no one who desires to understand the Book of Esther can afford to disregard this volume, for undoubtedly it is without equal in the English language, and in many respects it is superior to commentaries in other languages.

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Old Testament Miracles in the Light of the Gospels. By A. Allen Brockington, M.D. Edinburgh: Clark; New York: Scribners, 1907. Pp. 144. \$1.25.

The main thesis of Mr. Brockington's book is that miracles are to be regarded as signs of spiritual truth rather than as proofs of divine power.

"We are not to be concerned with establishing the credibility of miracles but with interpreting their meaning. Our duty toward signs is the same as our duty toward parables. We do not go about to prove that the parables were spoken by Jesus Christ or that they could have been spoken by him, we strive to understand them" (p. 21). "Miracles," we are told again, "are doctrine" (p. 11). This thesis might be used in the interest of a pious rationalism. But nothing could be farther from Mr. Brockington's intention. He believes most devoutly in miracle as a matter of fact. He even goes so far as to assert that "the bar to a belief in miracles is a moral bar. We are sceptical because we do not wish to acknowledge the claims of Christ" (p. 21).

After defending his thesis on the basis of the Gospel of John Mr. Brockington proceeds to apply it to the miracles of the Old Testament, but with very indifferent success. The miracles of the Old Testament as signs are further regularly correlated with the miracles of Christ. But little attempt is made to go beyond the obvious, and where it is done the correlations are not obvious enough. The sign of the manna is fulfilled in Christ the bread, the sign of the water from the rock is fulfilled in Christ who gives the living water, etc. The plagues of Egypt as a a sign (why not an evidential proof?) of the sovereignty of the Lord is correlated with the creative miracle at Cana, the passage through the Red Sea, with Christ's walking on the water, etc. But Mr. Brockington unfortunately cannot keep away from apologetic suggestions. Thus-heraises the question why miracles have ceased and answers it by saying, "because we have learned or ought to have learned all that miracles were meant to teach. Because we know that the whole round world is subject to God and God is love. Because we do not need miracles when we have learned to recognize signs" (p. 30). In itself this is an interesting observation but some reader might draw from it the larger inference that it is not necessary to believe in a miraculous religion at all if only one believes in a thoroughly spiritual religion.

Again, the discussion of Baalam's ass as a sign is almost lost sight of in the apologetic interest. It is not quite fair, we are told, to join the talking ass with the talking serpent or with the sun standing still. These latter phenomena are found in passages that are evidently figurative or poetical. But the talking ass is in a historical narrative vouched for by II Peter 2:16. We are therefore to receive it. And why not? Does not God employ certain agents in carrying out his purposes and if the usual agents fail are God's purposes to be frustrated? If there is no man to rebuke the madness of the prophet, is the madness of the prophet to

go unrebuked? Various expedients were tried to bring Baalam to his senses. The ass turned into the field, then he crushed Baalam's foot, then he lay down under Baalam. Only after these attempts had failed did Gcd open the mouth of the ass (!). In other words the last conceivable means had been exhausted when the ass lay down under Baalam. Nothing was left but miracle. But it is not a very difficult miracle after all. "An ass is much higher in the scale of being than a stone" says Mr. Brockington, and yet Jesus said that lifeless stones should cry out in order to praise God. Mr. Brockington is not quite sure of this argument himself, however, for he adds in an apologetic footnote, "Even if the language of our Lord be regarded as figurative it is clear that he contemplates an unusual agent" (p. 118). Perhaps it may seem unfair for a reviewer to select the most grotesque paragraph in the book as an illustration of its general character, but while the results of Mr. Brockington's mental processes are not usually so startling as in the present instance, the mental processes themselves are elsewhere about the same.

The thought that miracles can be better understood and that they are more edifying when they are construed as "doctrine," that is, when they are regarded as an integral part of the revelation in Christ, is a helpful thought, though not a very new one, but the way in which this thought has been worked out in the present book hardly deserves the prefatory recommendation, guarded though it is, of the Bishop of Gloucester.

KEMPER FULLERTON

OBERLIN, OHIO

The Christian Faith and the Old Testament. By John M. Thomas. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., 1908. Pp. x+133. \$1.

President Thomas dedicates his volume to the congregation of the Arlington Avenue Presbyterian Church, East Orange, N. J., in sincere gratitude for increasing liberty of pulpit utterance and the friends of Middlebury College in earnest hope. The author has only recently relinquished the pastorate at East Orange in order to take up the duties of the presidency at Middlebury. The book is an excellent illustration of the good service a parish can render to the cause of Christianity by encouraging a true man to be his whole self while ministering to it. In the confident possession of the truth, Dr. Thomas proceeds to present it in just such language and style as culture affords him at the moment of utterance. The result is a book that will help any unprejudiced reader who is interested in the subject.

The book might be described as a work on The Misuse and the True

Value of the Old Testament in Christian Thought. Its author believes that the interest and importance of the Old Testament will endure as long as vital Christianity. The Old Testament is a difficult book but it is well worth our while to seek to understand it. Dr. Thomas stands unequivocally with that reverent scholarship whose thoroughgoing criticism is restoring the Old Testament to the appreciation of the church.

In treating of Jesus Christ the writer would encourage us to believe that Jesus was not the many things that various partisans and faddists would make of him, but the one thing man most needs, a revelation of the possibilities of man in the highest of realms, that of religion, where the soul of man finds adjustment to the Eternal Love. He says that "the religion of Jesus was faith, the personal attachment of the heart to God." Jesus would urge his followers to exercise their powers in the discovery of right. "Why judge ye not of yourselves that which is right."

Not until after the days of Paul did Christianity come to full self-consciousness of itself as an organism detached from Judaism. The earliest Christian preachers depended much upon the Old Testament and proved therefrom that Jesus was the Christ. The earliest Christians, since they were Jews, started with the great advantage of the strong moral sense of the Old Testament as a part of their religious equipment. They had already at hand a "noble and exalted doctrine of God, the Father and Creator of the universe." Their new enthusiasm was steadied by the sense of age and permanence, for they felt that the old revelation and the new were continuous. We gain a good illustration of how advantageous this Hebrew heritage was to early Christianity by viewing the wreck of the Gnostic sects. For all the Gnostics agreed in discarding the Old Testament and every Hebrew element. Thus they failed of the "steadying and purifying influence which the main body of the Church received from the Hebrew writings."

But, unfortunately, there was an evil use of the Old Testament which was in the acceptance of meaningless ritualism and corrupting materialistic dogma. Eccentricities came with the allegorical method of interpreting the Old Testament. A great but mischievous feat was accomplished by the exegetes, that of reading the whole New Testament into the Old Testament and then reading it out again. As a result things are ascribed to Jesus and Christianity which are foreign to the spirit of Christ. This continues to the present day and all because the Old Testament has been misconceived. When truly understood it is seen to be "a report of progress, a faithful register of the upward strivings of an earnest folk from a very crude faith and a very rude ethic to views concerning God and

moral obligation which the world still reckons among its chief treasures." The Old Testament is unintelligible and therefore uninteresting whenever one is unable to follow its development of thought and the growth of religious conceptions. This ancient collection must be arranged for modern readers who are used to having their history, for example, arranged in chronological sequence. "The Church must teach the Old Testament as the critics interpret it if her more progressive members are to preserve their regard for Scripture." Moreover, "the teaching of modern criticism issues in worthier ethical ideals and nobler religious principles."

Much of the confusion of the Old Testament records, and most of those features whose literal adoption has caused mischief in Christian ages, arise from the presence of the priestly element, that least valuable heightener of the older traditions and remover of the real God from the experience of humanity. The inability to sense God and his will for us is a far more serious thing than unbelief in a so-called act of God in patriarchal times. The newer knowledge and appreciation of the Bible is not for scholars only, but for all readers and lovers of the book. It is in the fearless, truthloving spirit of the "Man of Nazareth" who would disclose to us God in common life, working in the men and events of old as he is working everywhere today and welcoming us in the good work. Thus the old-fashioned exegetical stare, the non-temporal grasp upon the ancient life and literature, is replaced by conceptions which make the glory of the past workings of God our ancestral heritage, illuminated by our faith in him now. He changes not. We grow.

The merit of the book is that it reproduces in brief compass for practical use the best scholarly results of a half century of Old Testament literature. It will help to establish an understanding heart in place of a dismayed and perplexed one.

ELIHU GRANT

SMITH COLLEGE NORTHAMPTON, MASS.

Studies in the Inner Life of Jesus. By ALFRED E. GARVIE. New York: Armstrong, 1907. Pp. xii+543.

As might be anticipated, Garvie's interest in his subject is ultimately theological; yet he is aware that one should approach the study of Jesus' "inner life" from the historical point of view. Accordingly he seeks to understand the "mind, heart, and will of Jesus as revealed in his words and works." He is acquainted with the latest contributions to gospel criti-

cism, cites from them freely, and passes judgment upon their conclusions. The two-document theory is accepted and the synoptic gospels are taken to be the principal historical source of information about Jesus. Fourth Gospel is thought to have been composed by the "presbyter," who was indeed an eye-witness but whose aim in writing was so emphatically apologetic that his work cannot claim to be an accurate history. But farther on in the book proof-texts from the Gospel of John are used seemingly regardless of this critical discrimination. In fact, with the close of the Introduction, the historical interest of the investigation is quite subordinated, nor is the psychological examination of Jesus' thinking kept uppermost, but it is Jesus' "inner life" as a revelation of God to man—"the divine revelation under human conditions"—that is made the chief concern. With this primary interest the author goes through the whole career of Jesus, treating such topics as Virgin Birth, Growth in Wisdom and Grace, Vocation Accepted, Temptation, etc., and then in a Constructive Conclusion he presents his doctrine of the person of Tesus.

A sample of the author's method will serve to indicate the general character of his book. In discussing the virgin birth he claims that it is not primarily a critical question, and that on the strength of the literary attestation it can scarcely be said to be verifiable, but he accepts it as a fact because without it he is unable to account for the inner life of Jesus. The perfection of Jesus' moral and religious development presupposes a perfect origin. Such development would have been impossible had he been "completely, by natural generation, incorporated in the human race." Yet the circumstances of his birth did not free him from the great hereditary tendencies of humanity, but he inherited something more which enabled him to overcome these tendencies; that is, the faith in and submission to God, which was uppermost in his mother at the time of his conception, became the predominant hereditary bias of his own life. He, however, came only gradually to the consciousness of the absolute uniqueness of his relation to God—his divinity, his pre-existence, and the like. Garvie is very insistent in maintaining that Jesus' divinity should not obscure our view of his full humanity. He was subject to the same laws of mental development as other men and ordinarily to similar limitations of knowledge, yet at times he had a supernatural endowment of power to heal the bodies of men and a supernatural endowment of knowledge to be used in his dealings with souls, but only when some special necessity required was this given or used (pp. 151 f.). Hence Jesus regarded preaching, and not the exercise of miraculous powers, to be his principal work.

The general position of the author is a mediating one. He feels the

force of modern thought and is in sympathy with it. For him God's relation to the world is to be expressed in the category of *immanence*, the process of the divine activity is best described by the term *evolution*, and the highest stage of this process falls in the category of personality. At the same time Garvie finds himself able to retain practically all the views which the traditional theology has held as vital. For example, he holds to the following as proofs of Jesus' divinity: (1) supernatural birth; (2) Paul's pre-existence doctrine; (3) John's logos doctrine; (4) physical resurrection; (5) fulfilment of prophecy; (6) Jesus' miracles: but he adds that these things become credible to him only when he has arrived at faith in Jesus' divinity through an appreciation of his unique personality.

The book does not seem to have given a final solution to our modern theological perplexities about the interpretation of Jesus' person, yet it has real value in indicating the importance of the problem. It cannot be ignored by the more technical scholar and it will also be of interest to the thoughtful pastor or layman. The author's honesty of purpose and reverent spirit will appeal to all his readers.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

CHEYNE, T. K. The Decline and Fall of the Kingdom of Judah. London: A. & C. Black, 1908. Pp. xlviii+194. 7s. 6d.

A study of the history of Judah from the eighteenth year of Josiah till the fall of Jerusalem in 586. To this is added a study of the law-books of Israel prior to the adoption of the Priestly Code. The wide range of Prof. Cheyne's information is remarkable, but his devotion to the Jerahmeel hypothesis renders his conclusions of little value for scholars in general.

KAPLAN, J. H. Psychology of Prophecy—A Study of the Prophetic Mind as Manifested by the Ancient Hebrew Prophets. Philadelphia: J. H. Greenstone, 1908. Pp. xii+148. \$1.50.

This is an excellent summary of the facts accessible to us regarding the nature of Hebrew prophecy. The author has used the best sources of information and has exercised good judgment in the formulation of his conclusions. A study of this book would be of great value to all students of the Old Testament as affording an insight into the origin and character of Israel's religious teachings.

PSICHARI, JEAN. Essai sur le grec de la Septante. Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1908. Pp. 50.

This is an off-print from the Revue des études juives and is well worth separate publication. The author's bibliographical knowledge is extensive. The problem he sets himself to discuss is chiefly that of the existence of "Hebraisms" in the Septuagint. His conclusion is that Deissmann, Moulton, et al., have gone too far in denying Hebrew influence upon the Greek of the Old Testament, and that after all allowances are made for the discoveries of the papyri and the parallels in Modern Greek it remains true that "the Septuagint has its share, its very large share, of Hebraisms."

STAHN, H. Die Simson-Sage. Eine religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchung über Richter 13–16. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. Pp. 81. M. 2.40.

The point of view of this treatment of the Samson story is not a new one. Many scholars have already traced the origin of the story to a myth regarding the sun god. This discussion is valuable as a clear and brief statement of the results thus far attained along this line and as an example of sane religio-historical interpretation.

Westphal, G. Jahwes Wohnstätten nach den Anschauungen der alten Hebräer. Eine alttestamentliche Untersuchung. [Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, XV.] Giessen: Töpelmann, 1908. Pp. xvi+280. M. 11.

This is the most comprehensive study of the history of the place of worship in Israel that has yet been made. The result is practically a history of the development of the God-idea in Israel. The author's method is historical and thoroughly scientific, and his results will bear close inspection.

KAUTZSCH, E. Die heilige Schrift des Alten Testaments. 3d ed. Lieferung 5, 6. Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1908. Pp. 257-384. M. 1.60.

These two parts carry the work through the first three chapters of I Samuel. The editor is assisted by Dr. Holzinger on the Book of Joshua, while Prof. Kittel stands responsible for Judges and Samuel.

ARTICLES

BARRY, P. Daniel 3:5, Sumponyah. Journal of Biblical Literature and Exegesis, XXVII, pp. 99-127.

A defense of the rendering "bagpipe" for this Greek word in the Hebrew Old Testament.

SMITH, H. P. Notes on the Red Heifer. Ibid., 153-156.

An explanation of certain details in the legislation of Num., chap. 19, on the basis of the theory that the ceremony there prescribed was formerly an ancient sacrifice for the dead.

Könic, E. Der Standort des Redners von Jes. 40 ff. Neue Kirchliche Zeitschrijt, November, 1908, pp. 989-1002.

A criticism of an article by W. H. Cobb in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* for 1908, which took the ground that the prophet of Isa. 40 ff., was resident in Jerusalem. König seeks to show that the prophecy was uttered in Babylonia.

OORT, H. Oud-Israëls Paaschfeest. *Theologisch Tijdschrijt*, November, 1908, pp. 483-506.

A study of the significance of the various details in the ritual of the Passover and of the history of the institution, from which the writer concludes, among other things, that the feast originated in honor of some other god than Jehovah and was later incorporated in the Jehovah worship.

SMITH, G. A. The Land of Edom. The Expositor, December, 1908, pp. 506-17. The second in a series of articles on the geography of the land of Edom.

CHARLES, R. H. Man's Forgiveness of His Neighbor: A study in Religious Development. *Ibid.*, pp. 492-505.

A rapid survey of the growth of the idea of forgiveness in the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and the New Testament.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

GREGORY, CASPAR RENÉ. Einleitung in das Neue Testament. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. vi+804. M. 11.20.

One half of this new introduction to the New Testament is devoted to the criticism of the canon, one-third to the criticism of the text, and the remainder to the criticism of the writings, i.e., matters of introduction proper. In treating canon and text, Professor Gregory follows the lines of his recent Canon and Text of the New Testament (1907). The concluding part is disappointingly brief.

WENDLING, EMIL. Die Entstehung des Marcus-Evangeliums. Philologische Untersuchungen. Tübingen: Mohr, 1908. Pp. viii+246. M. 8.

A minute critical analysis of the Gospel of Mark, in which Wendling seeks to distinguish the work of an early narrator, a later narrator, and a redactor. This book develops and defends Wendling's view of three strata in Mark, set forth in his *Ur-Marcus* (1905).

GILBERT, G. H. Acts: The Second Volume of Luke's Work on the Beginnings of Christianity. (The Bible for Home and School.) New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 267. 75 cents.

Macmillan's new handy commentary on the Bible, under Professor Mathews' editorship, is continued by this attractive little volume. The arrangement, the comment appearing on the same page with the text, is convenient and thoroughly practical. Gilbert holds Acts to have been written by Luke between 70 and 90 A.D. The notes are intelligent and helpful.

Gregory, Caspar René. Die Griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. vi+366. M. 11.

After much correspondence with textual scholars all over the world, Professor Gregory has wrought out a new and simpler system of designations for the manuscripts of the New Testament, under the constantly growing number of which the old alphabetic systems had long since broken down. This book presents and explains the list.

Uncials are designated as o1, o2, etc., alphabet letters at the same time being retained for the better known codices. The uncials now number 161, besides 14 papyrus pieces. The numbering of cursives and lectionaries shows less change.

PREUSCHEN, ERWIN. Griechisch-Deutsches Handwörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments, und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur. Zweite Lieferung: ἄργυρος bis εἰ. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1008. Columns 161-320. M. 1.80.

The second part of Preuschen's New Testament lexicon carries this promising enterprise through its first quarter. It is enriched by references to the literature, chiefly German, dealing with particular words. ἀφίημι, βαπτίζω, βασιλεία, δικαιοσύνη are among the principal articles in this fasciculus.

Weiss, Johannes. Die Aufgaben der Neutestamentlichen Wissenschaft in der Gegenwart. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1908. Pp. 56.

This address, delivered on June 1 last, before a Baden conference of cultivated ministers, surveys the whole field of New Testament study in Germany from text to theology.

PICK, BERNHARD. Paralipomena: Remains of Gospels and Sayings of Christ. Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. xi+158. 75 cents.

These fragments of uncanonical gospels and of sayings anciently ascribed to Jesus are well known and easily accessible to scholars, in the works of Harnack, Preuschen, Resch, and Ropes. Dr. Pick publishes them in English translation in the hope of making them known to the general reader. His collection of materials is good, although new sayings like the Freer Logion have already come to light which will have to be included in a later edition. It is doubtful whether these texts, with so little introduction and explanation, will do more than confuse the reader. Dr. Pick's comments are chiefly drawn from Baring Gould's Lost and Hostile Gospels, when Harnack might have served better. The bibliographies are full and well arranged, although more likely to be useful to the scholar than to the general English reader. There are a few misprints.

ARTICLES

BURKITT, F. C. Gergesa: A Reply. Journal of Biblical Literature, XXVII (1908)
Part II, pp. 128-33.

Mr. Clapp's study of Gergesa and Bethabara calls forth from Professor Burkitt this further discussion of the place of the cure of the demoniac, variously described as the country of the Gadarenes, Gerasenes, and Gergesenes.

BARRY, PHILLIPS. Daniel 3:5, Sümpönyāh. Ibid., pp. 99-127.

Mr. Barry's view that the word $\sigma \nu \mu \phi \omega \nu l a$ in Luke 15:25, like the kindred word in Dan. 3:5, means bagpipe, having been combated by Professor G. F. Moore, is now re-enforced with a mass of lexical material.

HATCH, W. H. P. Some Illustrations of New Testament Usage from Greek Inscriptions of Asia Minor. *Ibid.*, pp. 134-46.

Miscellaneous lexical material gathered from the inscriptions found by Professor Sterrett in 1884-85.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

Vanderburgh, F. A. Sumerian Hymns from Cuneiform Texts in the British Museum. Transliteration, Translation, and Commentary. [Contributions to Oriental History and Philology, No. 1.] New York: Columbia University Press, 1908 Pp. xii +83.

This is a good substantial thesis for the degree of Ph.D. at Columbia University. The introduction furnishes valuable summaries of the information available concerning the gods, Sin, Bel, Adad, and Tammuz.

VAN DYKE, HENRY. Counsels by the Way. New York: T. Y. Crowell & Co., 1908. Pp. 160. \$1.00.

This is a volume of essays gathered together from various sources. Their purpose is primarily devotional. The essay on the "Poetry of the Psalms" contains a great deal of useful information. All are done in Dr. Van Dyke's distinctive style.

Bigelow, W. S. Buddhism and Immortality [The Ingersoll Lecture, 1908] Boston: Houghton, Mifflin Co., 1908. Pp. 75. 75 cents net.

An exceedingly well written presentation of the Buddhistic conception of immortality from the point of view of a sympathetic student of Buddhism.

MURRAY, J. C. A Handbook on Christian Ethics. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. xiv+328. \$2.25.

An excellent summary by the Emeritus Professor of Philosophy at McGill University. The treatment is philosophical rather than historical, but is in sympathy with the historical method of Bible study.

ROGERS, R. W. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria, especially in Its Relations to Israel. Five Lectures Delivered at Harvard University. New York: Eaton & Mains, 1908. Pp. xiv+235. \$2.00.

A popular sketch replete with interest and charm. It is no attempt to supplant Jastrow's great work but rather to present the assured results of cuneiform investigation in a form intelligible to the educated public in general. The amount of consideration given to Israel is relatively slight, little more than sufficient to declare the author's opinion that for her high spiritual values Israel was not indebted to Babylon, notwithstanding the learned contentions of Winckler, Jeremias, et al. to the contrary.

Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics. Edited by James Hastings, with the Assistance of J. A. Selbie and other scholars. Vol. I. New York: Scribners, 1908. Pp. xxii+903. \$7.00. Sold only in complete sets.

This first volume carries the reader through "art and architecture." The more important subjects treated are Adoption, Adultery, Ages of the World, Agnosticism, Alchemy, Altar, Ancestor-Worship, Animals, Anthropology, Apologetics, Apostolic Age, Arabs. Among the writers are James Mark Baldwin, Bonet-Maury, Bousset, George A. Coe, S. A. Cook, D'Alviella, T. W. Rhys Davids, A. Fairbanks, A. E. Garvie, F. L. Griffith, D. G. Hogarth, J. H. Hyslop, A. V. W. Jackson, M. Jastrow, F. B. Jevons, A. C. McGiffert, T. Nöldeke, W. M. F. Petrie, A. H. Sayce, H. L. Strack, R. M. Wenley. The larger part of the material in this volume is in the field of Comparative Religion. As is almost inevitable, the quality of the material is uneven; articles of great value are alongside of others practically worthless. But the work as a whole will constitute an invaluable thesaurus of information in the large field with which it deals.

The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, Embracing Biblical, Historical, Doctrinal, and Practical Theology and Biblical, Theological, and Ecclesiastical Biography from the Earliest Times to the Present Day. Based on the Third Edition of the Realencyklopädie, founded by J. J. Herzog, and edited by Albert Hauck. Prepared by more than six hundred scholars and specialists under the supervision of Samuel Macaulay Jackson, with the assistance of Charles Colebrook Sherman and George William Gilmore, and others.

The title page of this work furnishes a conspectus of its scope and purpose. The general tone of the articles is cautious and the theological point of view is mediating. This edition is a distinct advance upon its predecessor, but in no sense has it made the dictionary a strictly up-to-date, scientific guide.

JEVONS, F. B. An Introduction to the Study of Comparative Religion. [The Hartford-Lamson Lectures on the Religions of the World.] New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xxv+283. \$1.50.

An admirable handbook by a first-hand authority. Every student of religion should read it.

HEER, J. M. Die Versio latina des Barnabasbriefes und ihr Verhältnis zur Altlateinischen Bibel erstmals untersucht, nebst Ausgabe und Glossar des Griechischen und Lateinischen Textes. Mit einer Tafel. Freiburg in Bresgau: Herder, 1908. Pp. lxxxiv+132. M. 7.

A piece of careful textual work, consisting of a full critical introduction to the Latin version of the famous letter of Barnabas, followed by the Latin text of the letter, which in turn is followed by the Greek and Latin versions in parallel columns and accompanied by a generous list of variant readings attached as footnotes.

CORMACK, G. Egypt in Asia, a plain account of Pre-Biblical Syria and Palestine. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xvi+280. \$3.00.

A popular presentation for the non-technical student. All pretensions to original research are disclaimed. A long list of illustrations adds to the attractiveness of the volume. The history of Syria, as revealed in the cuneiform and hieroglyphic literatures, is given down to the time of Ramses III and his successor.

STAERK, W. Die Anfänge der jüdischen Diaspora in Aegypten. [Beihefte zur Orientalistischen Literaturzeitung, II]. Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 1908. Pp. 35. M. 2.40.

This Beihelte comprises four articles, of which only the first one (9 pp.) deals with the Jewish Diaspora. It is a general summary of the contents and significance of the papyri from Elephantine.

Education and National Character. By Henry Churchill King, Francis Greenwood Peabody, Lyman Abbott, Washington Gladden, and Others. Chicago: The Religious Education Association, 1908. Pp. 319. \$1.50.

Thirty-three addresses given at the fifth convention of the Religious Education Association are here published. They present important aspects of the religious life of America in a strong and suggestive way.

Training the Teacher. By A. F. Schauffler and Others. Philadelphia: The Sunday School Times Co., 1908. Pp. 270.

This little book has been "approved as a first standard course by the Committee on Education of the International Sunday School Association." The various chapters deal with the Book, the Pupil, the Teacher, the School.

C. G. Shaw. The Precinct of Religion in the Culture of Humanity. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. xiii+279. \$2.00.

The author here prints some lectures delivered by him in New York University in the general field of the philosophy of religion. The themes treated are the essence of religion, the character of religion, the reality of religion, the religious world-order. The importance of the subject deserves a clearer vision and a firmer grasp.



GENERAL VIEW OF DAMASCUS

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Editorial

THE CATHOLICISM OF THE NEW TESTAMENT

What is the Christianity of the New Testament? This has always been a crucial question with theologians and Christian workers. Men have rightly felt that the church can fulfil its mission only if it is true to the ideals of Jesus and his disciples. The canonization of the New Testament was the official recognition of the normative character of this unique religious literature. Reformations in the church have been attempts to purify Christianity from those elements which were not believed to be warranted by this canon. The thousands of Christian commentaries, expositions, theologies, and sermons have had no other aim than to make clearer the meaning of the New Testament. It would seem that after so many centuries of study there should be practical unanimity of opinion as to the content of primitive Christianity. But, as a matter of fact, we find a bewildering diversity of conviction on this vital point. The Roman Catholic finds in the New Testament warrant for the apostolic sacerdotal institution to which he belongs. Each sect of Protestantism affirms that its peculiar doctrines are drawn from the same canonical literature. Even secular agitators have attacked the church of Christ in the name of the New Testament. Amid this Babel arises the voice of the Roman Catholic church declaring that so long as private interpretation of the Scriptures is allowed, no other result than anarchy can be expected. Let men turn from their vagaries to the authoritative exegesis of the true apostolic church, if they would learn what the real religion of the New Testament is.

DOGMATIC EXEGESIS AND HISTORICAL INTERPRETATION

The main reason for the existing divergence of opinion as to the meaning of the New Testament is found in the prevalence of the

dogmatic method of interpreting the Bible. It has been assumed that the Christianity of the apostles must be identical in content with the belief of the interpreter. The Catholic has thus found in the New Testament an ecclesiastical organization; the Ouaker, a free spiritual brotherhood; the paedo-baptist, sprinkling of infants; the Baptist, immersion of adults; the Calvinist, predestination; and the Arminian, free-will. It was inconceivable to men of former generations that there should be any discrepancy between their honest Christian convictions and the doctrines of primitive Christianity. Each age portrayed Jesus as if he were a contemporaneous figure. The expression of religious ideas in art graphically illustrates this. Look, for example, at Paolo Veronese's magnificent representation of the Marriage Feast at Cana. All the characters wear sixteenthcentury Italian costumes. In the background one sees stately buildings in Renaissance architecture. Jesus and the disciples are thus depicted in an environment familiar to the painter, and the event was doubtless made to seem very real to men of the day. But the historical student knows that this painting is untrue to the facts. Recently Professor Weinel has shown how in the past century various types of religious and moral aspiration found objective expression in different portrayals of the alleged historical Jesus. These various ideal pictures were based on the assumption that Jesus must, of course, have inculcated the specific doctrines which the loyal expositor believed to be true.

The historical student makes no such assumption concerning the identity of his own theology with that of the New Testament. He wishes to let the facts speak for themselves, whether they confirm or refute his own personal beliefs. This spirit has enabled scholars of very different theological convictions to agree concerning some of the facts in the New Testament. Lutheran scholars agree with Baptists as to the mode of baptism practiced by the apostles. Trinitarians and Unitarians alike recognize the spuriousness of the text concerning the three witnesses in I John 5:7, and alike admit that Paul taught the divinity of Christ. In so far as the historical method is genuinely scientific, we may hope that there will be growing agreement among scholars as to the real teaching of the New Testament.

THE NEW PROBLEMS RAISED BY HISTORICAL STUDY

But along with this consensus concerning the historical facts of the New Testament history, there arises a problem which was unknown to the older scholars who assumed that the New Testament was The historian discovers that there homogeneous in its doctrine. are widely varying religious teachings within the Scriptures themselves. The Synoptic Gospels present us with a picture of Jesus strikingly different from that of the Fourth Gospel. The Christology of the early chapters of Acts is not identical with that of the Pauline epistles. The relation of Christ to the world and to the believer is portraved so differently in the Apocalypse and in the Fourth Gospel that most scholars are compelled to attribute the writings to different authors even though tradition has connected them both with the apostle John. We thus have in the earliest Christian literature as well as in later history "varieties of religious experience;" and it is practically impossible to reduce these varieties to a harmonious system of theology. Thus the conflict of theological opinions is brought into the New Testament itself.

WAS JESUS OR PAUL THE FOUNDER OF CHRISTIANITY?

Perhaps the most acute aspect of this problem has been formulated in the above question, which Professor McGiffert asks in the January number of the American Journal of Theology. He believes that historical investigation reveals a wide difference between the teachings of Jesus and those of Paul on certain fundamentals. He finds in Paul all the essentials of the theology which ecclesiastical Catholicism has organized and canonized. The total inability of man demanding supernatural transformation by divine grace, the divine nature of Christ as the source of this supernatural grace, and the sacramental efficacy of baptism and the Lord's Supper are fundamentals of Paulinism. If in Paul's epistles man is thus represented as dependent upon supernatural means of salvation, the Catholic theology seems to be a logical development from the New Testament. But on the other hand, Professor McGiffert believes that Jesus himself gave no warrant for these elements of Paulinism. "There is no hint in his teaching of the radical badness and utter helplessness of human nature, of which Paul made so much, and of the consequent necessity for its transformation by supernatural agency. It is not simply that Paul threw the matter into theological or philosophical form, but that his view of man and his need was totally at variance with Christ's." Thus it would seem that we have to choose between Jesus and Paul on certain fundamentals of Christian faith. If we retain the traditional conception of salvation, we must recognize that historically Paul rather than Jesus is the founder of this type of Christianity. If, on the other hand, we decide to make the Christianity of Jesus normative, we shall be compelled to discredit some of Paul's teachings. In either case, the New Testament seems to be divided against itself. Not that Professor McGiffert insists unduly on this dilemma. He is concerned only to set forth the historical facts. But such an issue seems to be raised by historical scholarship.

IS CHRISTIANITY AN EXTERNAL PROGRAMME OR A TRANSFORMING SPIRIT?

The above perplexity is due to the persistence of the conviction which accompanied all dogmatic expositions of the Bible, i. e., that the only valid form of Christianity must be the Christianity of the early church. But is this true? Do we as a matter of fact feel that Tissot with his historical realism portrays Christ more truly than does Fritz von Uhde depicting Jesus as if he belonged to the simple peasant life of modern Germany? Do we believe that those who follow literally the command to wash one another's feet are more closely in touch with Jesus than are those who see only a symbolic meaning in the incident? It is the genius of Catholicism as an institution to insist upon the external uniformity of Christianity. But is there not a more genuine Catholicism in the New Testament which cares little for outer conformity but which gathers up the records of widely diverse experiences simply because all are luminous with the new spirit which was derived from Jesus? Do we need to state the issue as if we had to choose between Jesus and Paul? Is it not rather true that we should be unspeakably poorer if we had not the Christianity of Paul, divergent as it is from that of the Synoptic Gospels? a way, the differing theologies and sects of Christian history have been right in appealing to the New Testament. For the rich variety in that collection of scriptures indicates that from the beginning no

one man, be he Peter or Paul or John or the compiler of a gospel narrative, could exhaust the content of Christianity. If Christ could conquer such different spirits in the first century and transform them with all their personal individuality into ardent apostles, may we not believe that he can likewise conquer the twentieth century, different though it is from the first, in such a way as to conserve all that is distinctive of our age while inspiring it with his spirit and purpose?

THE NEW TESTAMENT THE CANON OF TRUE CATHOLICISM

The New Testament will thus continue to be a regulative principle in Christian thinking. Not that we shall try to become slavish copyists of its teachings. But we shall ever be recalled from our sectarianism and provincialism by coming into contact with the real Catholicism of these scriptures. Is it not of immense importance that the legalist in every age is expected to learn from Paul? Does it not steady the emotional mystic to read in the Epistle of James that "faith without works is dead"? Is it not wholesome for the individualist to feel the spiritual power of Paul's organic conception of the church? Ought we not to rejoice that the man who would reduce Christianity to mere ethics for this world may have his vision widened by the dramatic eschatology of the Apocalypse? Is it not a gain for the Unitarian to read the Fourth Gospel and for the Trinitarian to love the human Jesus of the Synoptics? Is it not a splendid antidote to our modern scientific provincialism to be compelled to gain our acquaintance with Christ through the testimonies of men who spoke in terms of a world-view which we have discarded, but who in spite of scientific crudities have produced an immortal literature? The problems raised by historical study make impossible, indeed, the Catholicism of an external institution, but they open the way for the triumph of the real Catholicism of the New Testament.

DAMASCUS: THE PEARL OF THE DESERT

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Among the Arabs Damascus is known by several picturesque names, each derived from some characteristic of the city itself. Its inhabitants assert that it is the oldest city in the world, hence it is quite frequently called the "Immortal City." As to the truth of this we are not prepared to say. Its foundation is lost in the shadowy mists of the world's twilight, and in the absence of historic facts no positive statements can be made. Yet there is not a fallen city today but Damascus was old when it was built, and still flourishes long after it has passed away. Amid the growth and decay, the rise and fall of races and dynasties, of civilizations and religions which have thronged the world for four thousand years Damascus has remained the one perennially great world-city. So we may in all truth claim that if it be not the oldest then it is assuredly among the oldest cities of the earth, older by ages than the "Eternal City," as Rome proudly boasts herself to be. Another title which shows the poetry of oriental imagination is "The Pearl Set in Emeralds." The appropriateness of this name is easily appreciated when the city is viewed from the top of one of the neighboring hills whence its oval shape is best seen. The color of the city is pearl gray and it is surrounded on all sides by gardens composed of shrubbery and verdure without number and trees uncountable, giving to the "pearl" the "emerald setting."

The situation of Damascus is remarkable—she stands isolated on an oasis of the vast desert which everywhere hems her in. You may see from Damascus the sunset firs touch with purple the low western hills twenty-five miles away. These hills mark the beginning of the great desert—beyond them there is nothing but a rolling waste and the long roads to Palmyra and Baghdad. The permanence and prosperity of Damascus are due to the presence of two rivers, which have converted this spot of the dreary, desolate, and uninhabited

desert into a smiling and well-watered plain. The Pharpar approaches only within seven miles of Damascus, but by means of canals and aqueducts sends its life-giving waters to the gardens of the city. The Abana is the stream from which the city's main supply of water is obtained. Minerva-like it springs full-born from the base of a perpendicular rock at Ain Fijih in the heart of the Anti-Lebanons, and runs a course of ten miles in a gorge, a large river 20–30 feet wide



THE SOURCE OF THE ABANA AT AIN FIJIH

and 4 feet deep, its waters always fresh and ice-cold, casting out branches everywhere, permeating every nook and corner of the city, until as one has said, "Literally there is scarce a street, bazar, khan, courtyard, or dwelling house which has not its marble or stone fountain constantly filled with running water supplied directly by the Abana itself." Thus the Abana, not fruitlessly wasting her waters on that thirsty land, saves them in her narrow gorge till she can fling them well out on the desert and expends all her life at once in the creation of a single city.

An astonishing site, too, for the most enduring city in the world; for it is utterly incapable of defense, and it is removed from the sea and from the great natural routes of commerce and trade. Yet Damascus is a great harbor of refuge upon the first sea man ever learned to sail—the great desert. It is because there is nothing but desert beyond or immediately behind her that Damascus has endured and must endure. Thus standing on the vanishing point of fertility, on the shore of the much-voyaged desert, Damascus is alike indispensable to civilization and the nomads. Nineveh, Babylon, and Mem-



HOUSES BUILT ON THE WALL OF DAMASCUS

phis easily conquered her—she preceded them and has outlived them.

She has been twice supplanted by Antioch and she has seen Antioch decay; by Baghdad, and Baghdad is forgotten. She has been many times sacked and twice at least the effective classes of her population have been swept into captivity, but this has not broken the chain of her history. She was once capital of the world from the Atlantic to the Bay of Bengal, but the vast empire went from her and she has continued to flourish as before.

Again, Damascus is the city of the Mediterranean world which

lies nearest to the Far East, and hence on the great highroad between the heart of Asia and the Phoenician ports of the Great Sea.

In the golden days of Assyria and Babylonia huge caravans of camels laden with merchandise passed and repassed the great Syrian desert between Nineveh, Babylon, and the other mighty cities of the valleys of the Euphrates and Tigris and the busy emporium of commerce at Damascus. Persia and India, Turkestan and Mongolia, vied with each other in securing for their merchants a lucrative and successful market in this active center of business, whither came also from the west to exchange with them their articles of manufacture and produce the traders of Tyre and Sidon, of Greece and Egypt.

The city has always been known as possessing great activity in all lines of commerce, manufacture, and industry. Her swords were celebrated throughout all the nations of antiquity; her name is preserved in such common terms as "damask silk," "damask curtains," "damask linen," etc., while her skill in all sorts of metal work is proverbial. Even today she is still able to maintain her reputation when brought into competition with western industries.

Damascus though aged and full of history has not of her own accord made history. Rather has she been content to bow the knee to the stronger, to open her gates to the invader, and to shift her politics with the change of the wind. Besieged times without number, never has she offered a prolonged resistance to her opponent, never has she displayed the stout old martial spirit of Rome. Owing largely to this fact she has come down to us intact. Her history may roughly be divided into three periods: First, her existence as an independent power to the time of her capture by the Assyrians. Thenceforward the ancient city seems entirely to have lost its independence, and was ruled in turn by Assyrians, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans. It was during this second period, which extended up to the coming of the Moslems, that her great reputation in commercial activity and manufacture was attained. Civilization was in an advanced state; learning flourished. The third and most brilliant history of the city began with the coming of the followers of Mohammed. Ruled over by the Caliphs for a long while, then by the Mamelukes of Egypt, it was at length captured by the Turkish emperor Selim and has remained as a part of the Turkish empire ever since. Today it has a population of 180,000—the largest city in Syria.

The chief attractions at Damascus are the world-famed gardens

which surround the city, the glimpses we get of oriental life as found in the bazaars, the streets, the shops; and last but by no means of less interest, the famous Mosque of the Omeiades.

One hundred and fifty square miles of green lie in compact order round about Damascus spread out with all the profusion of a virgin forest. Orchards and flower gardens, parks, plantations of corn and of other produce pass before the eye in rapid and changeable



THE COURT OF THE GREAT MOSQUE, DAMASCUS

succession. The natives claim that there are more than three thousand miles of shady lanes in the gardens of Damascus through which it is possible to ride. On such a ride the visitor passes

orchards of figs and orchards of apricots. For hedges there is the briar rose and for a canopy the walnut. Pomegranate blossoms glow through the shade; the vine boughs trail across the briars; a little waterfall breaks on the edge of the road, and all this water and leafage are so lavish that the broken mud walls and slovenly houses have no power to vex the eye.

These long gardens of Damascus form the paradise of the Arab

world. Making a pilgrimage to the city after weeks and months of dreary and desolate desert life, the running water is a joy to his sight and music to his ears and it is something to walk through shady lanes, to admire the variety of landscape and the beauty of scenery in a land where the sun beats down all day with unremitting force till the earth is like a furnace of iron beneath a sky of molten brass.

Along with the gardens of Damascus are to be considered the bazaars. Here is found a rich banquet of color to one who has an eve for the picturesque and the beautiful, and imagination for romance and poetry, and a wit to read the city's destiny in the faces she has gathered from both Levant and Orient. There is a beauty and a fascination to be found in the long twilight tunnels shot by solid shafts of light. Here the merchant displays his wares for sale and patiently awaits the arrival of a customer confident that whatever is to be will surely be. In the open shops rich carpets are seen, tasseled saddle bags, heaps of melons and fruit, sweetmeats, grain, snow from Lebanon, human dress, and best of all human flesh. The dark-skinned Algerian and dusky Sudanese, the pale-faced townsman and the Jew, with dirty lovelocks and downcast eyes, crush through the motley throng. Now passes a woman with her child swung on her back or shoulder, her face covered with a disfiguring veil, through which her painted eyes wander restlessly to and fro; now comes a black-robed sheikh, with dignified step, who has a way respectfully cleared for him. The most picturesque and remarkable of all the figures of this eastern crowd is undoubtedly the bedouin "fellah," or farmer. He is strong but wiry, slender in frame, graceful in movement as he follows his stately camels or stops to purchase cloth or provisions. His striped abba hangs easily in heavy folds over his shoulder, and his dark skin, prominent features, and keen black eye all mark the unchanged son of the desert, who belongs not to the city, but passes through it, indifferent to its conveniences and luxuries, and like his ancestors, despising its customs. The cries of the street venders form a never-ending attraction to one who understands the language. The vender of refreshments carrying on his back a wide two-handled jar with a narrow neck, shouts: "Refresh thine heart," or, "Allay thy heat," or extols its coolness in the words, "Take care of your teeth." Fruit is sold in a similar manner. Vegetables, cucumbers, turnips, and the

like, are pickled in vinegar and carried through the streets for sale in wooden tubs. The cry of the seller is: "O father of a family, buy a load," or "Tender cresses from the cool spring. If an old woman eats them, she will be young next morning." There a water-bearer, with loud voice, invites all passers by to drink: "O thirsty one, the distribution," he explains, for some charitable person has bought the



THE INTERIOR OF THE GREAT MOSQUE, DAMASCUS

contents of his water skin and desired the carrier to distribute it gratuitously to all comers. Then there is the Druze with mountain blood in his cheeks, and the Turk, and Greek, and Kurd.

But even the bazaars of Damascus fail to exhaust the significance of the city. Three great roads go forth, to the west, the south, and the east. The east is the road to Baghdad, the west travels by Galilee to the Levant and the Nile, the south, which leaves the city by the

"gates of God," takes the pilgrims to Mecca, for Islam has made Damascus the western port for Mecca.

In the history of religion Damascus was the center of two great crises. She was the scene of the conversion of the first apostle of Christianity to the gentiles. She was the first Christian city to be taken by Islam. The great Christian cathedral which rose on the ruins of the heathen temple was dedicated, not to St. Paul, but to John the Baptist. In the middle of the seventh century, the Moslems seized the building and converted it into a Mohammedan mosque, adorning it with costly tiles and mosaics, as well as with numerous other decorations of countless value. Islam boasts three mosques of unusual beauty and cost, the Mosque of Omar at Jerusalem, that of St. Sophia at Constantinople, and this Mosque of the Omeiades at Damascus. This splendid edifice was destroyed by fire in 1069, again in 1400, and yet again in 1803. Since this last fire, the Moslems have spared no effort to restore the great mosque to its former grandeur and have to a large extent succeeded. One of the most interesting of its possessions is a lovely shrine, known as the shrine of John the Baptist. An old legend states that his head was interred on the spot where the shrine stands. In our eyes, the thing of most interest in connection with the mosque is the famous Greek inscription carved on its northern entrance, which was in the beginning a part of the Christian church, destroyed to make room for the present building which has defied both time and fire, and today stands as a part of one of the greatest of Mohammedan buildings, testifying to the utter worthlessness of the cause it is intended to advance: "Thy kingdom, O Christ, is an everlasting Kingdom, and thy dominion endureth throughout all generations."

From the summit of a lofty hill that commands an excellent view of the city, tradition loves to relate that the great founder of Islam, Mohammed, once stood and viewed the vision of beauty and joy spread out at his feet. Long and wonderingly did he stand, enraptured with the vision. Then, with a sigh, he turned away, going no nearer Damascus. "For," said he, "if I once set my foot on such an earthly paradise, I shall have no desire for the paradise of the hereafter, and man can only enter into paradise once."

THE SCOPE AND FUNCTION OF THE APOSTOLATE IN THE NEW TESTAMENT

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No term in the New Testament is more familiar to the ordinary Bible reader than that which is to be discussed in this article. Probably the larger number of intelligent Christians would be willing, without hesitation, to attempt a satisfactory explanation of the title "apostle." And yet few words in the vocabulary of early Christianity have been the occasion of keener controversy. We shall try to reach a more or less adequate view of the facts by laying aside some common presuppositions and applying the historical method to the material afforded by the New Testament.

Ι

Perhaps the best approach to our problem is a very brief examination of the history of the term "apostle" ($\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}\sigma \tau o \lambda o s$), outside the pages of the New Testament.

a) The Greek historian Herodotus uses the word repeatedly to denote an "envoy" or "delegate," someone dispatched on a definite mission (e.g., I. 21; V. 38). This, of course, is true to its derivation from the verb $\mathring{a}\pi \sigma \sigma \tau \acute{\epsilon} \lambda \lambda \omega$ ("send"), which constantly has the sense of "sending on a mission." The same usage appears in the Septuagint, where, in I Kings 14:6, the prophet Ahijah, speaking to the wife of Jeroboam, says: "I am a grievous delegate ($\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}\tau \sigma \lambda o s$) to thee;" i.e., he has been commissioned (by God) to bring her sad tidings. Plainly we have an exact parallel to these instances in John 13:16: "A slave is not greater than his lord, neither a delegate ($\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}\tau \sigma \lambda o s$) than he that commissioned him;" in II Cor. 8:23: "If any enquire concerning Titus, he is my partner or if concerning our brethren, they are delegates ($\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}\tau \sigma \lambda o \iota$) of the churches;" and in Phil. 2:25: "Epaphroditus, my brother and fellow-worker and fellow-soldier, your delegate ($\mathring{a}\pi \acute{o}\tau \sigma \lambda o \iota$) and minister to my need."

b) Two early Christian writers, Eusebius and Epiphanius, refer to certain selected Jewish delegates who, after the destruction of Jerusalem, were sent out by the Patriarch, now the supreme authority, to collect from the Jews of the Dispersion the money-tribute paid to the patriarchate. These persons were designated "apostles" ($a\pi \delta - \sigma \tau o\lambda o\iota$). They seem to have possessed large powers. They carried important instructions from the central authority to the provinces, and apparently exercised a kind of disciplinary supervision over the Jewish communities of the Dispersion (see Harnack, Mission u. Ausbreitung d. Christentums, pp. 237 ff.). It is scarcely possible that Christian usage can have influenced the adoption by Jews of the name "apostle." So the probability is that the term was current in Judaism with something of the same sense, at a much earlier date. This might afford a starting-point for the strictly Christian conception.

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Let us now examine the writings of Paul, as they stand chronologically before the gospels and Acts. We are here confronted with some of the obscurities which belong to the determination of the scope and functions of an "apostle."

a) Paul claims for himself the position and functions of an "apostle." What does this claim, in his case, involve? Plainly his apostolic position rests upon a divine call (Rom. 1:1; I Cor. 1:1). It implies a divine selection and commission. The call which set him apart for his great work is immediately associated with the appearance of the risen Jesus to him on the Damascus road. For his eager affirmation, "Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?" (I Cor. 9:1), is evidently intended to confirm his apostolic authority. Moreover, there is no element in the situation which he emphasizes more strenuously than his complete independence of human assistance or counsel at the outset of his apostolic career, when he had to turn his gaze toward the future and determine how the purpose of God was to be carried out by his instrumentality (Gal. 1:1, 17, 19). Further, his apostleship is a function whose validity is guaranteed by its results: "If I be not an apostle to others, yet doubtless I am to you: for the seal of mine apostleship are ye in the Lord" (I Cor. 9:2). Christian lives are the best corroboration of his apostle claims. He can also point

to certain tokens which bear testimony to the genuineness of his apostleship: "Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds" (II Cor. 12:11).

It must already be obvious that Paul regards an apostle as occupying a unique place in the Christian society. The term has received a content which distinguishes it from the ordinary use of $\dot{a}\pi d\sigma\tau o\lambda os$ ("delegate") considered under I a), a use current also in the Christian society.

But before we discuss the range of the apostolate from Paul's standpoint, it is important to note one or two specific statements in the epistles which at least approximate to something like a definition. The first is found in Rom. 11:13: "Inasmuch as I am the apostle of the Gentiles, I magnify my service" (διακονίαν). Here he distinctly affirms that his apostleship is a service, a service to which he can ascribe the highest importance. What that service is, he indicates clearly in Gal. 2:7, 8: "They [the Jerusalem apostles] seeing that I had been intrusted with the gospel to the uncircumcision, even as Peter with that to the circumcision, for he that worked in Peter with a view to the apostleship of the circumcision, worked in me also with a view to the Gentiles." To be an "apostle," according to this passage, is to be intrusted with proclaiming the gospel throughout a certain sphere of influence. And apparently it implies that this is pioneer work, not the ordinary building-up of those already in the faith. The full significance of this consideration will appear when we discuss Jesus' sending-forth of the Twelve. In the present instance he associates with himself his fellow-laborer, Barnabas. the function of an "apostle," as here interpreted, means leadership in that supremely important province of Christian service which consists in extending the bounds of the Christian society.

These statements of Paul's are peculiarly suggestive, because they occur in a context in which he is above all things concerned to vindicate his apostolic authority. Manifestly there is no hint of an official position. An obligation laid upon him by God, a mission prompted by the divine spirit—that and nothing else constitutes the source of the authority which is claimed by the apostle. But it must be observed that the passage which we are considering takes for granted that the "apostle" is a pre-eminent spiritual leader.

It is entirely in accordance with this conception of the apostolate that Paul, when discussing spiritual gifts, places the gift of apostleship in the forefront: "God set some in the church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then mighty works, then gifts of healing, helps, administration, kinds of tongues" (I Cor. 12:28). To be an apostle signifies the possession of a unique spiritual gift. That gift is ranked first in the group, because, humanly speaking, the very existence of the church depended on the labors of the apostles, who were responsible primarily for propagating the Christian gospel. He takes up the same position in Eph. 4:11: "He gave some to be apostles, and some prophets, and some, evangelists, and some pastors and teachers." Equally significant is Eph. 2:20. The apostles manifestly are the primary founders of the Christian society, and this because of that spiritual fitness for the function, with which they have been divinely endowed.

b) Now that we have formed some conception of what the status and work of an apostle implied for Paul, we must proceed to consider the question: Whom would Paul be prepared to include within the circle of apostles? This is no mere matter of curiosity, but one which has most intimate bearings upon the whole question before us. Here, the material at our disposal gives us hints rather than definite information. Let us begin with the facts of which we are most certain. As we have seen, Paul is absolutely confident as to his own position. There is no grade of apostleship higher than his (I Cor. 9:1; II Cor. 12:11). Whom would he be willing to classify in this honorable status along with himself? In Gal. 1:17 he says: "Neither went I up to Jerusalem to them that were apostles before me." Speaking of a later visit (in vss. 18, 19) he mentions that he had stayed with Cephas, "but other of the apostles saw I none, save James, the Lord's brother." It seems to us unquestionable (so Haupt, McGiffert, and others, as against Lightfoot) that these words include James among the apostles. This is corroborated by Gal. 2:0, where he groups James with Cephas and John as men "reputed to be pillars." Plainly, James, Cephas, and John stand in the front rank of apostles. They belong to a group which may certainly be distinguished from Christian delegates (ἀπόστολοι) in general (see I a) supra), of whom, by this time, there must have been a large number.

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Of crucial importance for our present inquiry are two passages in I Corinthians. The first is I Cor. 9:5: "Have we no right to lead about a wife that is a believer, even as the rest of the apostles, and the brethren of the Lord, and Cephas? Or I only and Barnabas, have we not a right to forbear working?" Here Paul is asserting his rights as an apostle (q:1, 2). Those to whose example he appeals must certainly be regarded by him as possessing apostolic privileges. The group consists of (1) the rest of the apostles, (2) the brethren of the Lord, (3) Cephas. The "rest of the apostles" must mean the remainder of the Twelve, excluding Cephas. On an equal footing with them are placed the "brethren of the Lord." Cephas is named by himself, probably because his practice was cited to the Corinthians as a disparagement of that of Paul (see Heinrici, ad loc.). The other statement which has to be examined is I Cor. 15:5f., where he describes the eyewitnesses of the risen Lord: "He appeared to Cephas; then to the Twelve; then he appeared to above 500 brethren at once; then he appeared to James; then to all the apostles; and last of all to me also. For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle." At the first glance it would appear as if Paul distinguished here between "the Twelve" and "the apostles." But one might use the same argument to prove that he excluded Cephas from the Twelve. No doubt "all the apostles" refers to the complete available group of Jesus' chosen band of companions. It is virtually identical with "the Twelve" in the earlier clause. This enumeration, to all intents and purposes, tallies with that of I Cor. 9:5f. Here again, setting aside the 500, whom he designates as "brethren," we find the Twelve, James the Lord's brother, and Paul himself, adduced as primary evidence for the resurrection. One can scarcely avoid the conclusion that Paul places the Twelve, the brothers of the Lord and himself, in a special rank as "apostles." The inclusion of the brothers of the Lord is not surprising, as after their entrance into the Christian community at Jerusalem, their kinship and close acquaintance with Jesus would inevitably win for them a special spiritual authority. Paul's language in I Cor. 9:5 suggests that his fellow-worker, Barnabas, may belong to the same category. This we might expect, for Gal. 2:9 certainly implies that Barnabas was associated with him in the apostleship of the gentiles.

Some scholars suppose that in I Thess. 2:6, where Paul refers to the authority "which we might have claimed as apostles of Christ," he includes with himself his companions Silvanus and Timotheus who labored with him in Thessalonica. In our judgment, his usage in this letter, particularly evident in 2:17—3:13, shows that the plural throughout is simply that of authorship. The words of 2:18 and 3:1-2 (to quote two out of many relevant examples) are sufficient proof: "we wished to come to you, I Paul, once and again;" "we thought it good to be left behind at Athens alone, and sent Timotheus, our brother." As a matter of fact, in I Cor. 1:1 and Coloss. 1:1, he distinguishes of set purpose between himself as "an apostle of Jesus Christ" and "Timotheus, our brother." The same distinction is made between his own position as "apostle" and "Sosthenes, our brother." These phenomena are exceedingly significant for Paul's point of view.

There is an ambiguous passage, Rom. 16:7, which is used to support the hypothesis of a much more flexible use of the term "apostle" in Paul. There he sends greetings to "Andronicus and Junias, my kinsmen and fellow-captives, men of note $(\epsilon\pi i\sigma\eta\mu\sigma)$ among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me." Does this mean that they were distinguished apostles, or persons highly esteemed by the apostles? Some good scholars adopt the former interpretation; but we have no hesitation in agreeing with Gifford, who quotes some passages which are unassailable evidence for the latter use of $\epsilon\pi i\sigma\eta\mu\sigma$. If those two unknown Christians were "distinguished apostles," it seems to us that the New Testament conception of the apostolate, as indicated by the accumulated testimonies of the various writers, is plunged into hopeless obscurity.

One further reference in Paul must be noted. In II Cor. 11:13 he describes his bitter opponents at Corinth as "false apostles, deceitful workers, fashioning themselves into apostles of Christ." At the first glance these words lend color to the idea that Paul's use of the term "apostle" must have been extremely elastic. But surely the explanation of his language is that these Judaizing opponents of his at Corinth, in attempting to undermine his influence in a church which he himself had founded, were usurping the functions of an "apostle," those functions which undoubtedly belonged to him by virtue of his divine commission.

Accordingly, we think that the conclusion which was arrived at above as to Paul's idea of the scope of the apostolate is justified by a review of all the facts.

III

Let us now turn to the Synoptic Gospels and Acts.

- a) It is noteworthy that in the oldest form of the Synoptic tradition, the term "apostle" only occurs once. In Mark 6:30 we read that "the apostles gather themselves together unto Jesus; and they told him all things whatsoever they had done, and whatsoever they had taught." The use of this designation is found in connection with the return of the disciples from their first missionary tour. Hence it is impossible to separate it from the commission given them by Jesus, as reported in Mark 6:7: "And he calleth unto him the twelve, and began to send them forth $(a\pi \sigma \sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \nu)$ two by two; and he gave them authority over the unclean spirits." Here the designation is virtually synonymous with "those whom he had sent forth," "his delegates." Nothing, therefore, can be inferred as to a special status or office of the Twelve.
- b) In the Gospel of Matthew, the designation occurs only once, and that when the list of the twelve disciples is given: "Now the names of the twelve apostles are these" (Matt. 10:2). But in Matthew the list is given at the point where Jesus sends forth the Twelve on their first preaching tour. Immediately after giving their names, the evangelist proceeds: "These twelve Jesus sent forth" ($\mathring{a}\pi o\sigma \tau \acute{e}\lambda\lambda e\iota v$). So that this occurrence of the term must be estimated on precisely the same lines as that in Mark.
- c) When we examine Luke's Gospel, we are confronted with an interesting group of phenomena. When the selection of the Twelve by Jesus to be his constant companions with a view to their training for the future extension of the Kingdom of God is related in 6:13, Luke adds that "he named them apostles." And his words imply that this was a special feature of an important line of action. The Twelve are called "the apostles" in three other passages (17:5; 22:14; 24:10), in which no reason for the designation is apparent except that it had become for Luke a terminus technicus.

This usage is almost universal in Acts, which must be discussed along with the Third Gospel, to understand Luke's point of view.

From the very beginning of the book, where the risen Christ is described as "having given commandment to the apostles whom he had chosen" (1:2), up to chap. 16, the term occurs again and again, and with one exception presently to be noted, invariably of the Twelve. The apostles bear witness to the Resurrection (1:26; 4:23). Signs and wonders are wrought by them (2:43; 5:12). They occupy a position of unique authority in the Christian community at Jerusalem (4:35, 37; 5:2, 13, 29, 40). They pray with, and set apart, the Seven for service (6:6). They are regarded as the instruments through whom the Holy Spirit is bestowed (8:18). They are clearly distinguished from the "brethren" in Judea (11:1). On two occasions they are mentioned separately from the "elders" at Jerusalem (15:2, 6; 16:4). In one place they are grouped with "the Church" and "the elders" (15:4); in another they are distinguished from both "the elders" and "the brethren" (15:23). When there is a great dispersion of the Christian community, the "apostles" remain at Jerusalem (8:1). And they send some of their number to examine for themselves the mission carried on in Samaria (8:14). In view of the data we have collected from Paul's epistles, it is interesting to find that Paul and Barnabas are named "apostles" emphatically in 14:4 and 14:14. This is the one exception to Luke's usage, which was mentioned above.

Obviously for Luke the Twelve are the "apostles" par excellence, the special "commissioners" or "delegates" of Christ to the world. With them he is willing to group Paul and Barnabas as pre-eminent Christian missionaries. And yet in Luke there is no trace of an apostolic order or office. The Twelve are naturally reverenced by their brethren as the intimate companions of Jesus, as those first set apart and trained by the Master to proclaim the good news of the Kingdom. It would be inevitable that their judgment should be relied on, and their counsel sought in every emergency of the young Christian community. But a man like Paul who had proved his worth, who had labored more than all, who had been the mightiest witness to the risen Christ, could scarcely be excluded from the innermost circle of the Lord's ambassadors. And often, if not invariably, there would be a disposition to include his devoted fellow-laborer, Barnabas, so famous a pioneer in missionary effort among the gentiles.

IV

The half-dozen remaining passages of the New Testament which mention "apostles" add little to the material which we have examined. The only one that calls for brief notice is Rev. 2:2: "Thou hast tried them which say they are apostles, and are not, and hast found them liars." This use of the term might be interpreted on the same lines as II Cor. 11:13. But here it seems to have a wider bearing. The Apocalypse distinctly recognizes "the twelve apostles" (21:14). But the statement we are discussing appears to have in view a much larger group of Christian workers. The term "apostle," toward the close of the first century, has evidently grown more elastic. The claim to be an "apostle" cannot, by this date, have been rare. Those who made it had to be tested. This process is, of course, inconceivable in the case of the group to which Paul or Luke would have assigned the name, according to the evidence we have examined. And it is noteworthy that in I Clement, the term "apostle" is confined to the Twelve and Paul (42, 1; 47, 4). But in the Didache (perhaps about 130 A.D., possibly much earlier), the designation has a far wider range: "Let every apostle that cometh to you be received in the Lord. But he shall only remain one day, and if need be, a second day also; but if he remain three days, he is a false prophet" (II:4,5). Plainly, the name is now given to itinerant preachers, some of whom, if we may judge by the restriction just quoted, must have abused their position for purposes of gain. Indeed it would almost appear from Didache 11:5, 6 that there is now no rigid distinction between "apostles" and "prophets." The danger is, from this condition of things at the beginning of the second century, to draw inferences as to the situation, e.g., in the time of Paul (see Schmiedel on "Corinthians," in the Hand-Commentar, p. 102).

V

Let us attempt to sum up the conclusions which we seem justified in reaching from the evidence examined above.

a) The twelve disciples, whom Jesus trained to carry on the work of establishing and extending the Kingdom of God among men, are first called "apostles" in connection with the experimental missionary tour on which they were sent forth by their Master. Haupt (Zum

Verständnis des Apostolats im N. T., p. 108) is apparently of opinion that Luke's definite statement as to Jesus naming them "apostles" is simply a deduction from Mark 3:14, where the evangelist describes Jesus as appointing the Twelve to be his companions, and that he might send them forth $(a\pi o\sigma \tau \epsilon \lambda \lambda \epsilon \iota \nu)$ to preach. He finds the basis of the designation in such passages as John 17:18: "As thou didst send me into the world, even so sent I them into the world;" 20:21: "As the Father hath sent me, even so send I you." This connection may be frankly admitted, and yet it is by no means improbable that Jesus did call the Twelve his "apostles" or delegates. Indeed this is most likely to be the explanation of the use of "apostle" (which was a word in current circulation), with a special nuance of meaning in the New Testament.

What the function of apostleship involved came, of course, more and more clearly into view after the Resurrection, when Jerusalem became the center of the young Christian community. There was no formal office. The expression, "apostolic college," so often used, implies a fixed organization for which there is no evidence in the New Testament.¹ The apostles were looked up to as the guides and counselors of the society. They had the authority of spiritual distinction, a distinction fundamentally due to their selection by Jesus and their intercourse with him. Leadership in the direction of the existing body of Christian disciples and in the expansion of the faith as opportunity offered—this must naturally fall to men whom Jesus himself had commissioned to promulgate the good news of the Kingdom, both before and after his resurrection.

b) Paul's evidence, which is found in rich variety, suggests that at the time of his conversion the "apostles" were the Twelve, and on the same footing with them were the "brethren of the Lord," most notably James. Here again a special connection with Jesus includes these men in the group of his particular "delegates." But it need scarcely be pointed out that this inclusion would have been impossible, if they had not possessed certain unique spiritual endowments. Paul's own apostleship stands in a category by itself. The

¹Not even in Acts 1:21-26, where the election of Matthias is not to an office, but to bear witness to the Resurrection. The completion of the number twelve is, no doubt, due to the desire to preserve the symbolic reference to the twelve tribes which Jesus must have had in view when he chose this particular group.

various foundations on which it rests have been fully discussed. His vocation had come from God. He was peculiarly qualified to bear witness to the risen Christ. The original apostles recognized his sphere of work. That work was abundantly attested by its accompaniments and its results. Only unscrupulous foes could challenge his right to a place in "the glorious company." But of all his companions in the founding of the Kingdom, only his honored fellowworker Barnabas, so far as we can estimate the evidence, is admitted into the group of apostles. Timotheus, Titus, Apollos, Silvanus, and the rest—they are "brethren," itself an honorable appellation, but ranking below that of "apostle," which belonged only to those who had the spiritual endowment for doing pioneer work in the founding of Christian communities among Jew and gentile.

- c) The evidence of Acts, which has already been summed up at the close of III c), need not be repeated. In spite of such eminent authorities as Harnack and McGiffert, we can find no divergence between the general standpoint of Luke and that of the Pauline epistles.
- d) A wider use of the term "apostle" appears in the Apocalypse. The best commentary on this is the famous eleventh chapter of the Didache, which gives instructions as to the proper treatment of "apostles" and "prophets."

HOW MEN HAVE READ THE SONG OF SONGS

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If the Song of Songs be, as Goethe declared, "the tenderest and most inimitable expression of love that has come down to us from oriental antiquity," then the manner in which it has been read in different generations presents at once the strangest treatment of a love-song known in the world's literature and also one of the most curious commentaries on the frailty of the human mind. It is to the history of the interpretation of this poem which "begins with a kiss and ends with a sigh" that the present essay is devoted.

Unfortunately, we know nothing of the way in which the Song of Songs was understood until some centuries after its composition. If we follow the traditional title, it was sung as early as the composition of the Iliad, and if we date its origin by certain characteristics of the Hebrew in which it was written, we are brought down to the era of Alexander the Great, but it was more than four centuries after Alexander before the song emerged into the clear light of history. Thus we have no clue to the way in which the poet's own contemporaries read his verses; nor to their interpretation during a period which was at least as long as that which separates us from the author of the Faerie Queene.

It was highly prophetic that the first distinct references to the Song of Songs were controversial in character. The poem of love, which, as Herder said, seems to have been written in Paradise, appears in history at the beginning of the second Christian century as a source of contention among the rabbis. Was it or was it not to be counted among the sacred writings of the Jewish people? This question throws a ray of light backward into the darkness that rests on the poem, for it doubtless indicates that there were even then two ways of reading it, that some people had begun to read it allegorically, as the Greeks had long read Homer, and that others understood it in a literal manner. Of course they who read it in the former way could

discover in it the profoundest doctrines, and could therefore maintain its inspiration and its right to a place among the sacred books. It is now commonly held by scholars that this poem was finally declared to be canonical because the mystic interpretation of it had carried the day. The influential leaders of thought no longer regarded it as a rich love-song of transparent meaning, but rather as an intricate and profound treatise whose hidden mines were inaccessible save to the trained exegete.

The man who seems to have had a decisive part in securing for the Song of Songs its place in the canon of Jewish sacred writings was Akiba, one of the ablest Jews of all times. Like Paul and Jesus he was put to death by the Romans, his martyrdom falling about the year 132. It is interesting to note that although this man was incapable of understanding the most famous love-song of his nation, he is credited by tradition with having been a good lover. For when, after years of painful study which necessarily separated him from his home, he had at last become distinguished and admired, on returning to his humble roof, followed by a great throng of pupils, he gave to the wife of his youth the praise of all that he had achieved. It deserves also to be remembered that this man, who wielded so far-reaching an influence in connection with the poem before us, was in the habit of saying, when some great trial came upon him, "This likewise must be for some good purpose."

Now on Akiba's attitude toward the *Song of Songs* the Talmud contains two significant utterances. He declared that the day on which this poem was given to Israel was equal in importance to all time that had gone before, for while all Scriptures are holy, this is holy of holies. Yet Philo, the famous Alexandrian writer who died shortly before the birth of Akiba, seems not to have prized the *Song of Songs*, for he nowhere mentions it, and, moreover, it is not once quoted in the writings of the New Testament, most of which were composed in the lifetime of Akiba. The other utterance of this noted rabbi was a terrible threat: "He who for the sake of entertainment sings the Song as though it were secular will have no share in the world to come." It is obvious that when such words were uttered, feeling ran high. It would seem too from this saying that parts of the poem at least, if not all of it, had been set to music and were sung, probably

by young people at their merry-makings, perhaps at weddings. It may be observed in this connection that, fourteen centuries after Akiba fell as a martyr, the distinguished Italian composer, Palaestrina, wrote twenty-nine motets on the text of our poem, though of course not for "entertainment."

We have seen on what ground this immemorial song of love attained the exalted honor of being reckoned one of the sacred books of the Jews. It was thought to be a profound allegory. As soon as the Christian church began to comment on the Scriptures, this view reappeared there and reigned supreme until about a century ago. What now have the allegorizers made out of this song, this "exquisite celebration of pure love in humble life"? Rather, what have they not made! The ocean of fancies is boundless and bottomless. It would be vain to attempt to chart it, as it would also to regard these fancies with serious eyes as many of the great and good of distant times have done; but we may venture out on this ocean a little way with interest, for there is no stranger place in the universe of thought, and the excursion may give one new zest for the poem itself.

If there is any choice between the Jew and the Christian as allegorical interpreters of the Song of Songs, we must give the palm to the former. He has not quite equaled the Christian either in the variety or the strangeness of his explanations. The earliest, and what we may call the standard, Jewish interpretation sees in the bride of the poem a figure of Israel and in the shepherd-lover a figure of Jehovah. This view was so firmly established in the tenth century that it was declared a great sin and heresy to depart from it, as some writers did who thought that the bride was the Law and the bridegroom the Messiah. Having discovered that the two principal characters in the poem are Israel and Jehovah, the interpreter found in it, by a marvelous system of exegesis, a picture of Israel's history from the exodus out of Egypt, or even from the time of Abraham down to the golden age of the Messiah. One or two details will indicate how this interpretation was carried out.

The poem begins with the words of the Shulammite who has been carried away from her lover:

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth, For thy love is better than wine. This longing for a kiss, said the Jewish interpreters, meant Israel's desire for the Law. As the Law was given by the Lord to Moses face to face, the poet uses the expression "kisses of his mouth." Again, when the country maiden says to the proud beauties of Jerusalem,

I am black but comely,

the word "black" was explained as referring to the sin of making the golden calf, and "comely" to the time when, having repented of this act, the splendor of their faces became as that of angels. Once more, when the Shulammite, thinking of her lover in the distance, says,

Thy name is as oil poured forth, Therefore do the maidens love thee,

the fragrance of the "oil," according to one interpretation, was the wholesome influence of Abraham, and the "maidens" were the heathen nations with whom Abraham came in contact. After such a fashion were all the simple relationships, the rich and delicate imagery of the song, explained among the Jews, with few exceptions, from the age of Akiba down to the eighteenth century! Since the poem had been counted sacred in the belief that it was an allegory, there was nothing to do but to ignore the literal sense and search out these impossible meanings.

Transplanted from the synagogue to the church, this fanciful method of explaining the Song of Songs struck deep root and flourished as a green bay tree. Origen, the famous scholar of Alexandria in the third century, is said to have surpassed himself in his ten-volume commentary upon the poem, treating it as an allegory. He wrote almost twenty thousand lines, says an admirer of the following century—almost twenty thousand lines in explaining a love-song that has three hundred and fifty-one, or about three-quarters as many as The Two Voices of Tennyson. Surely he surpassed himself in respect to voluminousness if not also in respect to ingenuity. This master-piece of allegorical explanation of the poem has not come down to us, but its character can be judged by fragments that have survived. The opening words of the Shulammite—

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth,

are regarded by Origen as a prayer of the church to God in regard to the Messiah. The meaning is, "How long will my bridegroom send kisses by Moses and kisses by the prophets? I want to touch his lips." So the Law of the Old Testament, which Peter likened to a "heavy yoke," is a kiss sent from heaven by Moses! This sending of kisses sounds quite modern, but it must be confessed that the idea of this particular kiss is not altogether natural or pleasing.

One of the ancient writers furnishes us much more abundant materials for illustrating the allegorical interpretation of the Song of Songs than Origen, and that one is Jerome, a man famous for many services, but especially as the author of the Vulgate. In his interesting letter to Paulinus, bishop of Nola in southern France, he speaks of the poem as a "sweet marriage-song" that celebrates the "holy bridal" of Christ and the Church. That gives his general conception of it. Jerome was an ardent advocate of celibacy and, passing strange though it seems, he found his doctrine of single blessedness in this glowing song of love. Thus when the maiden of the poem says that her beloved "feedeth among the lilies," our author interprets the "lilies" as meaning virgins who are devoted to a celibate life; and in his letter to the Roman matron Laeta, whose daughter was to live as a nun, he advised thus: "Let her never go abroad. Nay, rather when one knocketh at her door (i. e., a lover), let her say, I am a wall, and my bosom like towers (8:10)." Even more strange is Jerome's use of the exquisite passage in chap. ii, which begins as follows:

My beloved spake and said unto me,
Rise up, my love, my fair one, and come away.
For, lo, the winter is past,
The rain is over and gone,
The flowers appear on the earth,
The time of the pruning of vines is come,
And the voice of the turtle-dove is heard in our land.

The "winter" and the "rain" are said to signify the Old Testament. The "time of the pruning of vines" is declared to mean the same thing that Paul meant when he wrote that, because of the shortening of the time, they who had wives should be as though they had none! Still more wonderful is the reference to the turtle-dove. "Let us read," says Jerome, "the works of naturalists and we shall find that it is the nature of the turtle-dove, if it lose its mate, not to take another; and we shall understand that second marriage is repudiated even by

dumb birds!" Surely if the monastic institution had based its claim on such desperate exegesis as this, it would never have been established among intelligent beings.

We cannot pass on from Jerome without alluding to one other interpretation which enjoyed a wide acceptance in subsequent centuries. Of the passage (4:12) where the shepherd-lover says,

A garden shut up is my sister, my bride,

Jerome remarks that "it reminds us of the mother of our Lord who was a mother and a virgin." About the time of Jerome a book entitled *The Assumption of Mary* was written, and the author tells us that when the soul of Mary was received up into heaven the angels were singing, in her honor, that passage of the *Song of Songs* where we read

As a lily among thorns, So is my love among the daughters.

Here we are apparently standing at the cradle of that view which sees in the Shulammite not the church and not the individual Christian soul, but Mary, the wife of Joseph!

Not to prolong our excursion on the ocean of allegorical interpretation unduly, we will give a moment to Gregory the Great, who was pope when, in 597 A.D., Augustine was sent to our pagan ancestors in England, and then, passing over six centuries, take our last illustrations from the sweet singer of Clairvaux.

Gregory, in his celebrated *Pastoral Rule*, takes occasion to explain these words of the *Song of Songs* (7:4):

Thy nose is like the tower of Lebanon Which looketh toward Damascus.

These lines are part of the truly oriental passage in which Solomon sings the praise of the maiden whose love he vainly seeks to win. Gregory explains them as follows:

The thing which we perceive not with our eyes we usually anticipate by the smell. By the nose also we discern between odors and stenches. What then is signified by the nose of the Church but the foreseeing discernment of saints? It is also said to be like the tower that is in Lebanon, because their discerning foresight is so set on a height as to see the struggles of temptations even before they come, and to stand fortified against them when they do come.

Imagine how the unknown author of this Hebrew love-song would have felt had he known what liberties would one day be taken with his description of the charms of the Shulammite! What horror would have seized him on hearing that her nose meant the "foreseeing discernment of saints," and its comparison with the tower of Lebanon meant that the saints could discern "the struggles of temptations" afar off! But all this wisdom was mercifully hidden from him.

Bernard, founder of the celebrated monastery in Clairvaux, and one of the most attractive figures of the twelfth century, undertook to preach a series of sermons on the *Song of Songs*, but he finished only the first two chapters. Had he lived to preach on the entire eight chapters as fully as on the first two, his series of sermons would have numbered three hundred and forty-four!

Bernard was a monk and preached to monks, and the latest editor of his works remarks that it is "the strangest paradox in the history of the pulpit that St. Bernard should discourse upon marriage to those who could never be married, and paint before their eyes in rich and glowing colors idyllic pictures of an affection which they had all definitely renounced." The paradox is of course accounted for by the fact that the literal sense of the poem was ignored, and both Bernard and his hearers saw themselves pictured in it as the bride of the heavenly Lover.

Although Bernard held the same general view of the poem that had been current for centuries, the first illustration we give of his explanation of details shows how widely each ingenious interpreter may differ from all others when, as in allegorical interpretation, he has nothing but his own fancy to guide him. In his second sermon Bernard explained the first verse of the poem—

Let him kiss me with the kisses of his mouth.

Some effort will be required to get the preacher's deep thought on these words. The mouth that kisses—so runs his metaphysical explanation—is the eternal Word, and that which receives the kiss is the human nature that the Word assumed. "The Kiss which is perfected equally by him who gives and him who receives it is that Person constituted of each nature, viz., the man, Christ Jesus." The Church cannot share this unique kiss, but only the kisses of the Word one degree removed, that is, as it were, Kisses of a Kiss!

Does all the range of human literature furnish a better illustration of the fact that what one feels he *must* find in Scripture, he *can* find, at least to his own satisfaction? Out of the sighing of a maiden for the caress of her absent lover we see developed the most stupendous theological doctrine! This is the consummation of intellectual jugglery. No matter how many songs sacred or otherwise a man studies, if he studies them after this fashion, he must confess at last with Faust.

Da steh' ich nun, ich armer Thor, Und bin so klug als wie zuvor!

What he thinks he gets out of the inspired document is only what he has first put into it. But let Bernard speak again: In sermon twenty-six he discourses on the lines in which the Shulammite, speaking of her comeliness, says it is

As the tents of Kedar, As the curtains of Solomon.

The "tents of Kedar" are easily disposed of by our interpreter. They are simply the bodies "in which we perform our pilgrimage." We have a warfare to carry on in them, as soldiers have in tents, and as long as we combat in this body, we are exiled from the light, and are in Kedar, which means "darkness." But as for "the curtains of Solomon," "something sublime and sacred is wrapped up under the veil of these words." This Solomon is not the king who ruled over Israel, but that greater one to whom the meaning of Solomon's name pointed. His curtain is that great expanse which as a tent covers the entire surface of the earth, and rejoices the eyes of men by the variety and beauty of sun, moon, and stars which adorn it. But as the beauty of the bride, that is the church, is spiritual and eternal, the curtains of Solomon must mean more than the visible heavens, for these are not everlasting. Therefore Bernard sees in the words a reference to the intellectual heaven which is stretched out as a curtain "over the affections and longings of souls." The stars of this heaven are angels and archangels, cherubim and seraphim.

In 1:13 the maiden says:

My beloved is unto me as a bundle of myrrh, That lieth betwixt my breasts. Now as myrrh is bitter, it signifies, says Bernard in the forty-third sermon, "the hard and rigorous facts of trouble and sorrow." It is this that lies in the bosom of the Shulammite, this to which she likens her beloved for whom she sighs! It is trouble and sorrow of which the poet really sings, not of the sweetness and endearments of love!

Let us apply this method of interpretation to a stanza of a modern love-song. Take the ardent fancies of the one who made love to Alice, the miller's daughter:

And I would be the necklace,
And all day long to fall and rise
Upon her balmy bosom,
With her laughter or her sighs,
And I would lie so light, so light,
I scarce should be unclasped at night.

We assume that this is an allegory. The miller's daughter is not the daughter of the miller, but she is Science, the daughter of Time. Her "balmy bosom" is naught but the philosophical calm of the true scientist; her "laughter" and "sighs" are the transitions from one stage to another in the development of truth, and the "necklace," which the lover fancies he would like to be, means the ambition for a brilliant scientific career! This is all so simple, yea inevitable, when it is once discovered that "Alice" was not a creature of flesh and blood with whom a young man might walk arm in arm, but just a mystic name for Science!

But to return for a moment more to Bernard preaching to his monks in the wild valley of Clairvaux. In his forty-sixth sermon he spoke on the words with which the Shulammite answered the praise of her shepherd lover!

Behold, thou art fair, my beloved, yea pleasant; Also our couch is green; The beams of our house are cedars, And our rafters are firs.

I consider [says Bernard] that the bed upon which rest is taken means the monasteries and cloisters in which a quiet and peaceable life is passed, exempt from the cares and inquietudes of the world. The bed is said to be decked and adorned because the life and appointed course of the brethren is adorned and rendered bright by the examples and precepts of our fathers, as if bedecked with fragrant flowers. By "house" we are to understand the great masses of Christians, and the "rafters" are the kindly and regular life and character of the clergy.

So runs our saint's explanation. The longing of the country maiden, who had been carried away to Jerusalem, for the fragrant walks of cedar and fir in company with him to whom her heart belonged, is transformed into praise of the monastic life! Great indeed is allegory, and strange the vicissitudes of this ancient song of love!

In the second half of the eighteenth century the view of our poem which Akiba had anathematized so long before, and for which Theodore, bishop of Mopsuestia, was condemned at one of the seven great councils of the church, namely, the Second Council of Constantinople, was again set forth as the only true view. The Jewish philosopher, Moses Mendelssohn, and the poet-preacher, Herder, were among the first to advocate it. For more than a century this view has steadily gained adherents, and all forms of the old interpretation have more and more passed away. The poem is now generally understood by students of Hebrew literature at its face-value. It is a song of love, or possibly a collection of such songs loosely strung together, and its central idea is the fidelity of the heroine to her shepherd-lover. It is not a lock, the key to which has been lost, for the key is in the heart of every young man and maiden. Only when one has regard to the literary relation of the several parts of the poem. can it be called, as it has been by a great commentator, the most difficult book in the Old Testament. Goethe thought there lay an insoluble problem in this relationship, and though he meditated trying to bring some degree of order out of the "lovely confusion," he never did it.

But if the *Song of Songs* has been brought down out of the clouds and allowed to mean what it says, a curious question arises. It was declared sacred, as we have seen, and reckoned among the Jewish Scriptures because of the mystic meaning which was supposed to be hidden in it, but now that it is recognized as a veritable love-song, what becomes of its sacredness and inspiration? It entered the Old Testament under false colors; can it remain under its own true banner of human love? William Whiston, the successor of Sir Isaac Newton as professor of mathematics at Cambridge, and known to every college boy as the translator of Josephus, declared the poem to be immoral, and said that the sooner it was rejected from the canon the better; but this view of the ethics of the poem has found few

adherents. It is doubtful whether the Cambridge professor really understood the poem, whether he was not prejudiced against it by some of the luxurious oriental imagery. Surely its figures and descriptions are somewhat unlike those of our colder western lovesongs, but the fundamental relation which it celebrates throughout is that of incorruptible fidelity. Even a Solomon with all his poetic blandishments and his unparalleled magnificence could not turn the heart of the Shulammite away from her simple country swain. In this fact alone we have ample ground for prizing the Song of Songs and counting it well worthy of its place in the Jewish Scriptures. I should be disposed to reverse the judgment of Akiba, and to say that if the poem were, as he thought, an allegory, then, since it contains no trace of its allegorical character and no certain clue to its supposedly profound meaning, it would be quite unworthy to be classed with the great productions of Hebrew genius, while, on the other hand, as a poem of true love, transparent, chaste, and beautiful, it deserves to retain the place which was given it on a mistaken view of its nature and aim.

THE GROWTH OF ETHICAL IDEALS IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES

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"A generation is growing up which is calling ethical Christianity into question, just as two preceding generations called in question historical Christianity. . . . The difficulty which young men today have in accepting Christianity is not intellectual, but moral." These words were recently quoted with approval by a distinguished teacher of ethics. Whether this statement describes a generally observed tendency of today may be open to debate. But from large experience with college men the writer feels convinced that it is entirely true of the Old Testament elements in Christianity. The reason is not far to seek. While in most universities and theological seminaries the substance and spirit of Old Testament scholarship finds expression in terms commensurate with the intelligence and needs of our time, the great mass of religious instruction exhibits little more than forced accommodation to the new standards. So long as the substantial coequality of the Old and New Testaments is assumed, the student does not see clearly that the former is developmentally as well as historically subordinate to the latter. In other words, the differences between successive periods of Old Testament religion. and between the Old Testament as a whole and the New Testament as a whole, are differences of growth. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that the ethical standard of each period of Old Testament religion exhibits a lower stage of spiritual development than that which follows, and that ethically, morally, philosophically, these standards fall short of the Christian standard. The process of discrimination involved in such a study frees the student from the false obligation to justify the unjustifiable, and, in the language of Job, to "speak unrighteously for God." His ethical difficulties with the Bible will vanish in direct proportion to his willingness to make room

there for the cancellations of development in matters religious as well as scientific.

For a just appreciation of the facts of ethical development in Hebrew religion, it is necessary to realize that religion and general culture were practically inseparable in antiquity. In their reactions upon each other this is true today. But the farther one goes back into the beginnings of history, the more the different forms of authority by which men's actions are now regulated are seen to merge into one. What we now call morals is in the earliest times represented by a body of tribal customs rigidly enforced upon all members of the community by discipline and habit. What we now call law is represented by a system of prohibitions and punishments unsparingly enforced by all members of the tribe upon him whom they suspect to be refractory. What we now call science is represented by a series of myths and legends, giving supernatural reasons for the tribal customs and the fierceness with which any infraction of those customs must be punished. What we now call religion was a part of all three sets of facts, and its chief practical manifestation was a disposition to provide existing practices with divine sanctions. Since religion in primitive times was not a separate body of abstract beliefs, but concretely a part of almost all that we would class as general culture in the form of tribal customs and institutions, and since primitive culture undeniably has by a long process of evolution developed into modern civilization, it follows inevitably that religion has shared with civilization this process of progressive development, from the crudest expressions of the religious instinct in nature, ancestor, and fetish worship, to the exalted form in which it has expressed itself in the teachings of Tesus.

When, therefore, we speak of the development of religion, or of the ethical content of religion, we are using an elliptical term and really mean the *development of the ethically religious man*. The truth of this is obvious, and it implies that the development of the ethically religious man is at the same time the development of the rational man, the artistic man, the civilized man. The history of ethical ideals, therefore, is a history of growth, exhibiting on the one hand a process in man, on the other, a progress in idea and institution; the process is the growing fitness of the vehicle of revelation, the

progress is the greater perfection of the religion. Needless to say, the conception of revelation that underlies this study regards it as an illumination from within, not a communication from without; as an educative, not an instructional, process.

The conceptual materials which are to form the basis of our study are imbedded in the literature of the Old Testament. Obviously we must know the historical sequence in which that literature grew up. The historical method has been called the gift of God to the present generation, and nowhere has it been applied with more faithfulness, nor with a greater weight of intellect, than in the field of biblical research. Most of the labor has been expended-where indeed it was needed most—in the literary analysis of the Old Testament. That task may now be said to be accomplished, for the uncertainties that remain do not affect ultimate issues. To defer the attempt to understand anything until everything contributory to that understanding is beyond dispute is certainly not wise. As a result of this literary analysis, verified by linguistics, by the history of laws and institutions, by the testimony of the monuments, and by our knowledge of the history of contemporary nations, the actual and approximate dates of the various books and literary strata of the Old Testament are now known with a remarkable degree of precision. This knowledge naturally has become the basis for a reinterpretation of Hebrew religion in terms of development. The application of the historical method clearly shows how

> Every fiery prophet of old time, And all the sacred madness of the bard, When God made music through them could but speak His music by the framework and the chord.

More significant still, it is seen that Israel's religion runs a course of orderly development along lines marked out by the literary chronology of the Old Testament, covering roughly a period of a thousand years. That the laws which are found to have controlled the growth of Israel's moral ideals are essentially the same as those with whose operation we are acquainted elsewhere is not surprising. Just as the occurrence of some elements of the Mosaic law in the recently discovered Code of Hammurabi, older than Moses by a thousand years, shows that the great Hebrew nation-builder founded his legis-

lative system on the proved experience of past generations, so the study of Semitic origins has shown that many religious practices and institutions, once believed to be the peculiar possession of the Hebrews, were known and practiced centuries before this gifted people made them a part of their own religious economy. It is precisely what our belief in the genetic unity (cf. Acts, chap. 14) of all religion, and in the continuity of its development, would lead us to expect. Nor does it furnish cause for fear lest the ascertainment of such genetic relationships should undermine faith in the objects of religion and in the reality of revelation. What it does undermine is a false theory of revelation which an appeal to the facts does not sustain and which in the interest of sound religious progress ought no longer to be suffered to go unchallenged.

In passing now to a particular consideration of Israel's earliest ethical ideals, we beg to remind the reader that this study presupposes acceptance of what may be called the assured results of Old Testament scholarship. The student who desires to verify details of literary analysis is referred to the various modern treatises on Old Testament Introduction. The limits of my subject do not permit me to extend this investigation beyond the point at which Old Testament literature begins. But of Hebrew literature earlier than the ninth or tenth century B. C. only scattered fragments survive, almost entirely in the form of songs. Among these the Song of Deborah (Judg., chap. 5) must be, substantially, our point of departure, for contemporary literature is the only satisfactory source for the study of ethical ideals. This does not take us back even to the time of Moses. Yet according to a well-known law primitive conceptions of God and duty survive in their effects and often in their original form in the later stages of religious development. Adding to this corroborative evidence derived from the ideas of kindred peoples in similar political conditions, we may feel certain that we can obtain at least inferential knowledge of moral beginnings antedating even the time of Moses. Thus the cruel boast of the blood-avenger in the Song of Lamech may be an echo from a time when the excesses of private revenge had not yet been checked by the Mosaic law of retaliation (Exod., chap. 21). But this sifting is delicate work and had better not be attempted in this general study. It must be our endeavor, in any case, to consider individual instances of ethical or unethical conduct only as illustrations of the principle under which they are subsumed. Deeply significant for our purposes is the fact that the Hebrews tried to make their conception of the divine conduct and nature the regulative ideal of their own account. True, the statement "Ye shall be holy;1 for I, Yahweh, your God, am holy" (Lev. 19:2) is found in one of the later law codes. But the same principle is clearly implied in the writings of Amos, and was doubtless in force at a still earlier day. In order, therefore, not to overlook some important motives of conduct, we must ascertain the conception of God prevalent at a given time, for both the ethical and the unethical elements in the Hebrew conception of his character were likely to work themselves out in conduct. Thus in Deborah's song Yahweh is a tribal deity, who accompanies his people into battle. The poet's imagination invests him with every element of fierce partisanship. From Sinai he comes marching to join the forces of Barak "against the mighty." We know from subsequent occurrences in Israel's history that this sharply particularistic conception of Yahweh was consonant with the perpetration of the most awful atrocities in his name. The tribal deity was believed to have only the interests of his own tribe at heart, and almost any act, however immoral from our point of view, was believed to have his sanction, if it tended to the advantage of the tribe and did not contravene tribal customs. A practice which the Hebrews shared with contemporary Semites was that of "devoting" the whole population of the enemy, putting to the sword men, women, and children indiscriminately, in the firm belief that it was in accordance with the will of Yahweh. Saul's and Samuel's treatment of the Amalekites is a case in point. Jael's act of treachery in murdering Sisera, and the poet's savage exultation over the act, are intelligible from this point of view. We are called upon neither to condemn nor to approve. To condemn is to be lacking in historical sense; to approve is to be lacking in clear ethical convictions. But to be worthy heirs of the moral development by which Deborah's Yahweh, "the man of war," has become the Father of mankind and "the God of all peace," we must be fully conscious of the enormous difference between the two.

¹ The idea of holiness implied is only partly ethical.

The complex of traditions contained in the two prophetic documents, known respectively as I and E, is our chief source of information on the early popular and prophetic conception of God and duty in Israel. The writings of Amos and Hosea furnish confirmatory evidence of the ideas that are imbedded in these ancient traditions. although in other ways these two preachers of righteousness stand at the turn of the road that leads to ethically higher and rationally more tenable views. It was the supreme achievement of Moses that he established as a national cult the worship of Yahweh, known at first to the Kenites only, or to a few North Arabic tribes. In any case the earliest traditions represent his worship localized at Mount Sinai. When the federated tribes adopted his worship as theirs, or, as the prophets put it, were chosen by him as his peculiar people, a national religion was established, and he became the God of the nation. When the nation so formed laid aside its nomadic habits and adopted a settled mode of life in Canaan, conditions were ripe for the introduction of the correlate idea that he was the God of the land occupied by his people. This development was furthered by the belief, widely prevalent among Semites at the time,2 that there were many gods and that each exercised power within a limited domain. With the exception, therefore, of a few hints looking in the direction of later developments, the early traditions consistently speak of Yahweh as the God of Israel, not of mankind, and as the God of Palestine ("inheritance of Yahweh"3), not of the universe, or even of the world as then conceived. It must be evident that a conception of God which limits his interests to one nation, and his presence and the exercise of his power within the limits of a given mundane territory, thereby carves the mold within which every other thought of him must be cast. As we shall see, the restraining influence of this nationalistic conception of God was felt strongly in the sphere of human duty. Its immediate effect was to limit the range of moral obligation to dealings with one's countrymen. Given the belief that Yahweh's interest is limited to Israelites, and that he is the patron of justice only within the borders of their land, it follows that dealings with foreigners are governed by expediency, not by moral obligation. This circumscribed

²Cf. Mesha's inscription on the Moabite stone.

³ I Sam. 26:19.

character of Hebrew social morality corresponds to similar developments elsewhere. Not until the beginning of the Christian era did the Romans, according to Lecky's *History of European Morals*, experience that "enlargement of moral sympathies which, having at first comprised only a class or a nation, came at last, by the destruction of many artificial barriers, to include all classes and all nations." Though earlier Greek thinkers had expressed a broader view, Aristotle in the fourth century B. C. still held that "Greeks owe no greater duties to barbarians than to wild beasts." While the Hebrews on the whole emancipated themselves much sooner from this restricted view of moral obligation, we must not blink the fact of its presence in the early records.

One of the sources for the study of Hebrew ethical ideals is in the person of characters they idealized, such as Abraham, Jacob, Moses, Samuel, David, and others. In Gen., chap. 12 (I), Abraham appears, as elsewhere, in the rôle of a personalized ideal. To guard against possible danger to himself he tells a lie that may involve the dishonor of his wife. By the aid of Yahweh, who secures to Abraham the practical advantages of his deception, he triumphs over Pharaoh, who figures simply as a foreigner. The story implies the common belief and practice of the time that there is no moral obligation which a Hebrew is bound to observe in his dealings with foreigners. The same unmoral attitude is ascribed to Yahweh, who helps Abraham not because he is right, but because he is his client. A somewhat later doublet of the same tradition appears in Gen., chap. 20 (E), but with significant evidences of a deeper moral feeling. Abimelech here appears as the foreigner, the foil by which the shrewdness and superior divine affiliations of the tribal father are set off. The attempt to extricate Abraham from an unethical situation by sophistry is not morally defensible, but indicates that the narrator felt the injustice involved in a lie that proved injurious, even though it was an injury done to a foreigner. The slightly apologetic tone of the whole account indicates a heightening of the ethical ideal. Yet we should note that it still falls far short of the ideal of Amos, who makes divine aid dependent upon moral rectitude only; whereas here, as in the earlier account, Yahweh is pictured as enabling Abraham to mulct a man whom he has injured by a base untruth.

According to our moral standard it is Abraham, not Abimelech, who owes reparation. It is needless to point out that any exposition of these accounts which assumes them to be theoretically sound and objectively true, either in their social ethics or in making God an accessory to the moral delinquency of Abraham, is dangerously vicious in tendency. The teacher who does this is reviving obsolete and ethically imperfect standards of morality, and providing them with the sanction of an equally defective ethical conception of God. He is not availing himself of the historical point of view which enables the student to see the moral defects in these early portrayals of God and ideals of godly men as temporary elements in a developing process. The same historical, not moral, justification must be urged for the implied divine sanction of slavery, of polygamy, the low idea of womanhood, and the rude morals of sex. But to accept the comparatively unenlightened moral judgment of these early writers as a completely true statement of what is right in human conduct; to accept the moral defects in their portrayal of God as true statements of what he did, does, and approves, is inexcusable in one who professes to accept at the same time the ethical standard of Jesus. The writer permits himself this digression because so much popular religious instruction is still open to this reproof. It is not surprising that increasing numbers of thoughtful young people in our times find it morally difficult to accept the type of Christianity presented in this irrational and ethically confused teaching.

Returning to the main theme under discussion, let us note that the ethical quality of these Abraham stories is not exceptional. Even greater moral obliquity is exhibited in the story that tells how Jacob deceives his blind old father, and filches the blessing from Esau, who represents the Edomites. Despite falsehood and deception, so runs the tale, Yahweh espouses the cause of Jacob, for it is again the case of an Israelite against a foreigner. On the same principles the Israelites on the eve of departure from Egypt are directed to borrow from the Egyptians with the concealed intention of keeping what they get. Even the Deuteronomist has preserved among the regulations he ascribes to God one which provides that no Israelite may eat "an animal that dieth of itself" (Deut. 14:21), but that he may give it to a sojourner (ger), or sell it to a foreigner (nokri). Here the pro-

hibitory part of the injunction is in the interest of a type of "holiness" which Jesus repudiated as non-moral (Mark 7:15), while the permissive part is in flagrant contradiction of the Golden Rule. But it is interesting to note that the sojourner, a resident foreigner to whom some rights have been conceded, is held to be entitled to a little more consideration than a plain foreigner who may be doubly victimized by divine permission. All this illustrates how the national God idea worked itself out in practical ethics. The conviction that God always acts or wills according to an absolute moral standard has at this time scarcely dawned upon the Hebrew mind. They ascribe to him some moral characteristics, but not a moral character founded upon eternal ethical principles. In the light of this fact and of their particularism we can understand how they could regard Yahweh as guardian of justice and morality in Israel, and yet ascribe to him acts and commands that are neither just nor moral. The discerning student will already have perceived that in all this we really discover the early Israelite painting his own ethical portrait, objectifying his own ethical ideals. It is he, not God, whose moral character lacks coherence, whose acts are often immoral and unjust, whose humanity has racial and geographical limits, and whose religion is still honeycombed with unreason and superstition. As indicated on a preceding page, one of the tendencies of primitive religion is to fortify existing practices with divine sanctions. Perhaps not theoretically, but practically this involves the assumption that Yahweh's will coincides with Israel's national customs and morality; that he is the guardian of the social order as it exists, and that any infraction of it is an infraction of his will. It means that the average Israelite, at crucial points in his ethical life, contemplated his own imperfect ethical ideals, and naïvely called them God's ideals. Against this comfortable conception of God's character and demands Amos and Hosea were the first to hurl passionate denials. The immeasurably valuable impulse which they gave to the ethical development of Israel's religion will be taken up in the next study.

PETER'S PLACE IN THE EARLY CHURCH

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Peter is one of the fascinating characters of the early church. Repeatedly he appears in striking scenes which compel our admiration. The climax of the dramatic in him is reached, however, toward the close of his career, for chaps. 9–12 of Acts present him in the fulness of his powers and at the height of his significance. It is quite impossible, nevertheless, to estimate him accurately at this period without recalling some of the facts of his earlier life and noting how his mature influence was dependent on

HIS PREPARATION

Peter's preparation consisted first of all in the fact that he was a man of the common people. His home was in, or near, the busy commercial city of Capernaum (Mark 1:21, 29; John 1:44), where he came into contact with all classes of men. The business of fishing which he followed not only inured him to the dangers of the sea and tended to develop the heroic, but gave him a place among the hardy laborers of his time. Thus he became equipped for the severe experiences which other days were to bring.

As a man of the people he shared the popular ideas concerning the Messiah. Though this is not emphasized in the gospels, it is distinctly indicated in different ways. It appears at the time of his call to discipleship. His brother Andrew, who had heard John the Baptist's annunciation concerning Jesus and had become Jesus' disciple, went to Peter and said, "We have found the Messiah" (John 1:41), and Peter, because the messianic thought was familiar to him, was ready to respond at once. Later, when Jesus at Caesarea Philippi asked the disciples what they thought of him, Peter replied, "Thou art the Christ (Messiah)" (Mark 8:29), the language coming to his lips as though the idea were native to him. The description of Peter in the early chapters of Acts implies a similar point of view. And all this Messianic expectation reveals a strong religious bent,

a disposition which enables us to understand why he became such good ground for the spiritual seed scattered by the master Sower. His relation to the people and his religious disposition suggestively explain how he should be among those whom Jesus selected for the splendid ministry which his mission offered to men.

It is what we might expect, then, that Peter was one of the intimate disciples of Jesus and prominent among the first missionary workers. His name appears at the head of the list when the Twelve were chosen (Mark 3:16), he was the first of Jesus' inner circle of companions (Mark 9:2; 14:33; Luke 8:51, etc.), and he was regularly present when Jesus shared the special honors of his labors with the disciples (e. g., Mark 5:37; Matt. 16:17). Thus he gained opportunity to receive the unique benefits of Jesus' personal influence and was evidently affected by it to a remarkable degree; even though neither he nor his companions became aware of the extent of that influence at the time, it was surely pervading, rich, and enduring. Unwittingly he was drinking at the fountain of life and power, from the inimitable cup of companionship with the Christ.

When the time came, therefore, for Jesus to instruct his followers concerning their exceptional duties of "binding and loosing" as his representatives (Matt. 16:18; 18:18; John 20:23), Peter naturally occupied an eminent position, so prominent in fact that the first evangelist portrayed him as the spokesman for all and the recipient of the common message (Matt. 16:18). His inherent qualities and the type of service which he was rendering made him at once *primus inter pares*. The disciples were all brothers (Matt. 23:8), but Peter's inborn leadership could not be disguised.

Peter's pre-eminence among the disciples continued after Jesus had been taken from them. It was Peter who rose to interpret the dastardly treason of Judas (Acts 1:15); it was he who spontaneously stood up to defend himself and his companions against the monstrous accusations of the Jewish cynics at Pentecost (Acts 2:14); and his was the overpowering presence which could become the vehicle of divine life for the helpless suppliant before the shining temple gate (Acts, chap. 3). At his word Ananias and Sapphira were overcome by their consciousness of guilt and paid the penalty of their sins in death (Acts, chap. 5).

A man who could thus step into the foreground of deed and action must have possessed genuine ability. To be sure, his ability may have been merely the happy complex of that variety of talents and experiences which have just been recalled. If so, all the better, since we thus see that efficiency is not a detached, unrelated endowment, but rather the union of ordinary qualities in a ready and responsive soul. Even Peter's so-called fickleness became a means of might, for the fickleness was really an index of the enthusiastic nature that carried him over difficulties before which calculating minds would have stopped appalled. No other except the impulsive Simon could have been at once both the embodiment of the Adversary and the incarnation of the Rock on which the church should rest (Matt. 16:16–23).

AN OPPORTUNITY

Such a man appropriately became, at the opportune time, the bearer of messages second in importance only to those of the great Tarsan. Indeed, Peter was in some respects an anticipator of Paul, though he did not maintain the same noble position nor manifest the same splendid consistency. Still, we must do him justice, must recognize the excellent service which he rendered, and rejoice in the fact that he became the avenue of truths which contributed to make the new faith a religion for the world.

The opportunity came even as an aftermath of persecution, for it was when the disciples fled from Jerusalem, declaring the good news as they went, that "the church throughout all Judaea and Galilee and Samaria had peace" and was richly increased in numbers (9:31). This moment of respite was a time to renew strength and to make plans for the future; a lull in the storm of oppression, it revealed the tide of missionary privilege which should carry the joyous message to the far distant parts of the earth. Peter, like others of the glad disciples, availed himself of the opportunity which God had given, saw the possibilities offering themselves in the distance, and "went throughout all parts" (9:32) displaying the benefits which the good news of Jesus had bestowed. It was while thus engaged in ready response to the providential privileges of God's grace that Peter received

A VISION AND A NEW VIEW OF MEN

Up to this time the message of Jesus had been told to Jews only. Though Jesus had associated freely with the Samaritan woman (John, chap. 4), had responded to the needs of the Syrophoenician as though she were a Jewess (Mark 7:24-30), and had insisted that his message was for all men (Mark 13:10), yet the significance of his cosmopolitan attitude had not been understood and applied. Apparently nothing less than persecution and dispersion could awake even the closest disciples to the actual import of what Jesus had been in example and teaching. But at last the time of such an awakening had come. Perhaps it was provoked by the bitterness of Pharisaic opposition. Perhaps the disciples, under the stress of scribal bigotry, began to perceive the deeper meaning of Jesus' life and words. It may have begun to dawn on their dull minds that the gentile world offered a gracious harvest for the sickle of truth. What if they had begun, timidly it may be, to discuss the possibility of breaking through the wall of Jewish caste? In the case of Peter, his Galilean life and associations doubtless made him more open to the larger view of men in their relation to one another and to God. Through whatever providence it occurred, he was in a state of mind, when his travels brought him to Joppa, to respond to the divine call which was awaiting him.

According to Palestinian custom, Peter went up to the roof of the house to pray, and as he prayed and waited for food to be prepared, he became hungry, fell asleep, and dreamed, and God used the natural dream under such conditions as a means of mental and spiritual awakening. Peter dreamed that he was asked to eat food which no loyal Jew had ever touched.

Coincidently the non-Jewish request for a visit came from Cornelius. If the invitation were to be accepted, Peter must associate with a gentile as he had never done in the past; yet to do so appeared the only proper application of the dream. Peter made the application, went promptly to meet Cornelius, Cornelius and his family manifested as genuine tokens of divine endowment and power as had previously been manifested by Jews, and Peter discovered in gentiles what he had never seen in them before. He became aware that Jews and gentiles were standing on an equality in the presence of God, that

God could declare himself as truly in one as in the other, that men were no longer divided into races before the great Father whom Jesus had revealed.

Thus the way was opened for the exaltation of the gentile to Jewish privilege and honor, and the Jew could see himself—Peter did see himself—as never before because he now saw the gentile in a new light. This was a glorious privilege for the gentile, but the boon to the Jew was no less great, for it meant a new era in the progress of the common family of mankind toward God. The glory of this splendid achievement had been accorded to Peter, and we do not appreciate his place among the early Christians until we take this into account.

A MORAL TRIUMPH

The new view of men brought with it a test of Peter's appreciation of its significance and his complete surrender to it. Cornelius, because of the honor of Peter's visit, was ready to assume the position of an inferior (10:25). Peter might conveniently have allowed him to maintain such a position, and yet have appeared to contribute generously of the benefits displayed in the good news which Jesus had brought. But such a course would have robbed the dreammessage of half its meaning and Peter of the full victory which now lay within his grasp. It was the crisis of the event, but the disciple did not waver; "I too am merely a man," he declared, and the victory was won. He had humbled himself that he might exalt another, and he had thereby unconsciously obtained a brilliant moral triumph. This act was in some respects the noblest in the entire event because it revealed an enlarging soul in a crowning deed of self-mastery.

A NEW CONCEPTION OF GOD

The new view of men with its exalting victory over the selfish spirit of caste involved a new conception of God. This is ever the case. A man's thought of God is a corollary of his thought of men. As his conception of men varies, his view of God alters. If his idea of men enlarges, his estimate of God becomes enriched. Pari passu these cardinal and controlling partners of the soul press for the prize awaiting the noblest efforts of the human mind.

Peter's experience was a notable example of this fundamental

truth. If we explain his experience by looking no farther back than the vision on the house-top, we may be inclined to assert that the changed thought of God preceded the new conception of men and paved the way for it; but if we take into account his previous experience, we recognize that the new idea of God came as a providential companion of the growing conception of men, especially the man Jesus Christ.

Peter had previously supposed that God looked favorably, or unfavorably, on food according as it met the requirements of the Jewish ceremonial laws or not, but he now saw that God knew no such distinction. Peter had opened his eyes to understand God's real character.

Yet even that significant awakening concerning God's thought of food was merely incidental to the transcendent realization that God's attitude to the gentile altogether was not different from his attitude to the Jew. The Jew had become hardened in a belief to the contrary, but Peter now saw that belief to be Jewish error, not a reflection of divine truth. He had come to see God with unveiled face, as he had come to look at men through the eyes of the Nazarene (10:34-36).

This new appreciation came to him to be used, and the occasion for its employment soon appeared, for he received opportunity to be the means of reproducing his own experience in the lives of some of his fellow-Israelites. They heard of what he was doing, were much astonished, and criticized his conduct sharply (II:I-3). But when he frankly told them the story of his work and what splendid results it had produced through the blessing of God, their objections were silenced and they were compelled to allow that God had bestowed repentance and life upon the gentiles as well as upon the Jews. Because Peter had gained a new conception of God and had stood loyally in support of it, he was permitted to enjoy the satisfaction of seeing the dull minds of his friends open to a similar truth (II:18).

ATTITUDE UNDER CRITICISM

Peter's attitude in the face of the criticism from his Jewish brothers is one of the significant elements easily overlooked in the situation which we are studying; for his loyalty to new truth was not the sole aspect of his conduct that merits attention. If he was loyal, he was also discreet, convincing, and winning.

His discretion appears in the refusal to evade any of the facts in the course which he had pursued or the implications that arose from these facts. Such an evasion would have jeopardized his position at once, would perhaps have nullified all the advance in truth and Christian conquest which he had been permitted to achieve. But the grace of God that had been the means of his novel and rich experience kept him from such a gross mistake. Relying on the convincing force of the marvelous events themselves, he recounted in detail the glorious ministry which had been granted him, fully confident that the actual results of God's working in the hearts of the gentiles could not be gainsaid, and that the minds of his Jewish countrymen could not remain cold and hard before the manifest tokens of divine grace.

His expectations were amply justified, and his wise judgment fully proved. The Jerusalem leaders, like himself, were convinced that the activity of the Spirit was not limited to the hearts of Israelites but could bring forth the fruits of righteousness in the lives of men beyond the pale of Jewish rites. Even though the Jerusalem leaders may not have felt the full significance of the new point of view—and later events indicate that they did not—yet the frank, discreet, and convincing stand which Peter had taken won them more thoroughly than anything else could have done, and the glad tidings which Jesus had brought for all nations received new impetus for world-wide mission and conquest.

BEARING TOWARD JAMES

The study of the twelfth chapter of Acts usually centers about the miraculous experience of Peter in his escape from prison "and from all-the expectation of the people of the Jews" (vs. 11). Without minimizing the importance of that incident, we may best turn our attention in this study to a phrase which, though often overlooked, is not only of genuine significance, but, in some respects, is of large importance for an appreciation of Peter and his place in the early church.

This significant phrase is in the seventeenth verse. Peter had just related his escape and was about to depart "to another place"—

secretly perhaps, that he might continue the special mission with which he had been favored—when he added, "Tell these things to James, and to the brethren." Thus we are introduced to a James who, though not previously mentioned, was at this time pre-eminent among those whom Peter wished informed concerning what he had seen and done. Such an introduction suggests various questions whose investigation would be highly interesting, but we are here concerned primarily with one of them, namely: Why should Peter refer thus generously to a man who, though not a member of the Twelve, had now come to share the leadership with himself? Perhaps the language even implies that James had come to hold a more prominent position and to exert more influence than Peter possessed. James's equality at least is evident, and it must have been already patent to all that he was fast attaining the pre-eminence which was later accorded him (cf. 15:6-21).

In such a situation most men would have chafed and been resentful. Not so with Peter. His large heart enabled him to share the leadership freely and cordially; and his bearing in this matter undoubtedly contributed much to the happy outcome of the disturbing situation which is indicated at the opening of the fifteenth chapter. Peter's highly commendable conduct in this incident merits study for the light which it throws on the man's character and the part which it must have had in the progress of the good news as well as for its suggestiveness for our modern Christian labors. Except for what Peter did at this time the early history of Christianity might have been quite different. We may realize this the more adequately if we recall that, at this point, Peter disappears from our view and does not reappear for some time—the Acts narrative being silent concerning him for about the years 45 to 50—but, when he is again mentioned (chap. 15). he is still pleading the rights of the gentiles and working in harmony with James. It is very natural, therefore, to infer that during the intervening years he had been engaged in the kind of service which we find him performing at the beginning of the period and at its close. It is entirely possible that he had done considerable missionary work among the gentiles, after he departed "to another place" and before he returned to Jerusalem, which materially aided in preparing for the gentile missions of later days. Perhaps he was aware that he

could do this as James could not and quietly let the leadership in Jerusalem pass to James, while he dedicated himself to a wider service.

RELATION TO PAUL

The larger portion of Peter's association with Paul occurred at a later time than the period presupposed in this study, but the beginning belongs here and is the key to the later events.

The first thing to be noticed is that Peter's mission to the gentiles, as presented above, is not necessarily out of harmony with Paul's statement in Gal. 2:8. This is obvious when we recognize that, as Paul's mission to the gentiles certainly did not hinder him from repeated missionary efforts for the Jews, so Peter's mission to the Tews did not preclude his turning aside to gentiles, if occasion made them the most fruitful sphere of activity. If we knew the details of events from the time of Peter's visit to Cornelius (perhaps about the year 40) until the time of the council at Jerusalem (about the year 50), we should probably have plenty of evidence that Paul's activity was not so closely limited to the gentiles, or Peter's to the Tews, as is often supposed. We might then understand that what Peter did for Cornelius was only the first step in a movement which increased until it became established in the ministry of Paul, for Paul nowhere states, or implies, that he was the first to go to the gentiles or that he alone was intrusted with the mission to them, but only that the Jerusalem leaders recognized his divine commission to gentiles, as they did Peter's to the Jews (Gal. 2:7-9), and that his labors should be pioneer (Rom. 15:20), which they could be among Jews of course as truly as among gentiles.

From the point of view just presented, even the unfortunate incident mentioned in Gal. 2:11-21 may be explained and understood. It will be seen that we have there an account of the temporary lapse of the "fickle" Peter, who, as Paul's language at the close of verse 11 may well be translated, "was self-condemned" (as well as condemned

¹ Observe, for example, Paul's explicit statements concerning his preaching to the Jews in I Cor. 1:23, 24; 9:20, and compare with these his language in Gal. 3:13, 23-28; 4:3-7, which implies clearly that, while the Galatian Christians may have been largely gentiles, some of them at least were Jews. Quite in accord with all this, of course, are such statements of Acts as the following: 13:5, 14; 14:1; 16:13, 14, 40; 17:1, 2, 11, 17; 18:4-6.

by others of course), but later regained himself and stood firmly for the gentiles (Acts 15:7-11), as he had done when he was criticized for visiting Cornelius. His impulsive nature was just the one which might be expected not only to respond to the gentile appeal when conditions were favorable, as in the case of Cornelius, but likewise to show timidity and retreat in the face of such insinuating and persistent criticism as presented itself at Antioch. Peter lacked the constancy and clear-thinking which the great Tarsan possessed, but he had probably been the earlier of the two to take the message of Jesus to the gentiles,² and, aside from temporary lapse, was one of the best Jewish supporters who came to Paul's aid. Without the assistance which he received from Peter, Paul would not have been able to accomplish his splendid achievements for men.

We not only do injustice to Peter but obscure strategic events in the life of the early church, if we minimize Peter's service in the evangelization of the gentile world.

² This is manifestly the meaning of the language of Acts (e. g., 10:19, 20; 11:1, 2, 19, 20). And the passages just indicated become all the more convincing when they are considered with such as 8:5 and 9:31 taken together, all of which plainly show that, though the missionaries had gone outside of Judaea at that period, their labors had been confined to Jews.

Exploration and Discovery

THE FREER GOSPELS AND SHENUTE OF ATRIPE

The provenance of the recently discovered Freer manuscripts has now been definitely determined, and throws an interesting light upon the perplexing subscription at the close of Mark in the gospels manuscript. In publishing the newly discovered text of First Clement in Coptic, in 1908, Carl Schmidt pointed out that the Coptic papyrus book from which he drew that text was discovered in the White Monastery, near Akhmîm, where, in the course of some repairs, a considerable deposit of ancient manuscripts, Greek and Coptic, on parchment and papyrus, and dating chiefly from the fourth and fifth centuries, had lately been stumbled upon. Some were secured for the Berlin Museum, others were dispersed among the dealers. This seems to have occurred in 1906, the very year when the Freer manuscripts made their appearance at Cairo. It will be remembered that the dealer who sold them declared that they came from Akhmîm, and with this statement all the probabilities of the case seem to correspond. Schmidt,² Gregory,³ and Crum⁴ concur in the belief that the Freer manuscripts formed part of that already historic find. Since these manuscripts come from Akhmim, the Greek Panopolis, it seems fitting that the most important of them, the fourth- or fifth-century gospels, should be called the Codex Panopolitanus. It is of especial interest to recall in connection with their discovery that so keen a manuscript hunter as Robert Curzon. visiting the White Monastery about 1838, found in the library only a few well-thumbed liturgies,5 and most subsequent visitors, like Butler, who even drew a plan of the ancient buildings, found no more. On the other hand, Schmidt says that Maspero, in 1883, secured 4,000 leaves of Coptic manuscripts from the monks, and that the flow of Coptic manuscripts from this convent had been going on since the end of the eighteenth century.

- 1 Schmidt, Der erste Clemensbrief in altkoptischer Uebersetzung. p. 5.
- ² Theologische Literaturzeitung, May 3, 1908, col. 359, 360.
- 3 Gregory, Das Freer-Logion, p. 2.
- 4 Egypt Exploration Fund, Archaeological Report, 1907-8, p. 62.
- ⁵ Curzon, Monasteries of the Levant, p. 118. He adds: "But one of the priests told me that they boasted formerly of above a hundred volumes written on leather (gild razali), gazelle skins, probably vellum, which were destroyed by the Mamelukes during their last pillage of the convent." This took place, Curzon states, in 1812.

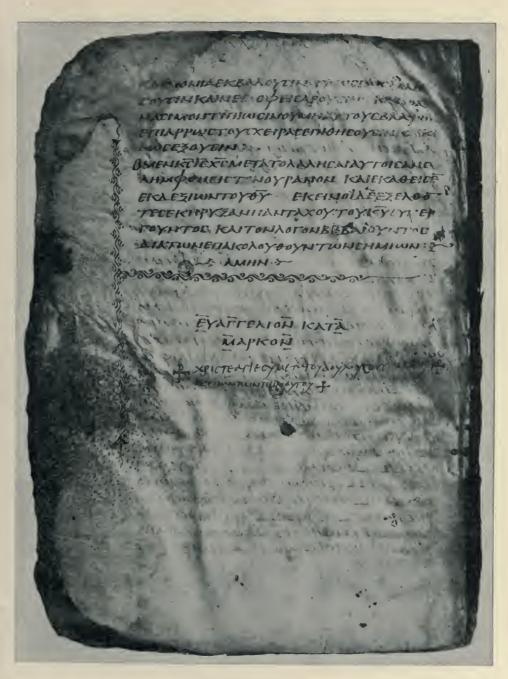
The White Monastery, rich and historic, was often raided and plundered, and it may be that in some ancient evacuation of the convent these noble and precious volumes were thrust into a closet and walled in, to preserve them from pillage, and the monks perishing or being scattered in the ensuing sack. the secret of the deposit disappeared. However explained, the fact may be regarded as certain. The White Monastery did, in 1906, give to the world a treasure of manuscripts, of high antiquity, and in admirable preservation; for some of them, like Schmidt's Clement and the Freer Gospels, were still in their ancient covers. From this find Schmidt secured for Berlin a Greek Genesis, of the fourth century, on papyrus, the Coptic First Clement, of the same age, also on papyrus, a Coptic text of Proverbs, and a festal letter of the early ninth century. The Freer manuscripts are reported to be accompanied by some papyrus and Coptic remains, and some of them, notably the Psalms, contain leaves in a hand probably later than the sixth century. Thus in materials, contents, dates, languages, and condition, the Detroit and Berlin groups fully agree, and it is evident that they are simply fugitive parts of one and the same library.

The White Monastery is so called from the color of the ashlar of which it is built. Its proper name is Anba Shanûdah.6 Pococke referred to it as Embashnuda, and Wilkinson as Anba Shnoodeh, while Curzon called it Abou Shenood, though he could find no one who could tell him who Shenood might be. The work of Leipoldt has informed us on this point,7 and now we know that the name the convent has borne through its long history is that of its great head, Shenute, Sanutius, or Sinuthius, the leading figure of Coptic history. It was in 385, probably, that he became head of the convent, and his learning, zeal, and devotion built it up to wealth and influence. Sinuthius was a patron of learning, stimulating the translation of Greek works into Coptic; he was indeed the founder not only of Coptic Christianity but of Coptic literature, and if, as we are told, he survived until 451, reaching the great age of 118, he may have handled and read these very manuscripts which Mr. Freer has lately brought among us. So important was his activity that he came to be looked upon as the founder of the convent; it assumed his name, bore it through centuries when his identity was forgotten, and retains it in modern times.

To the convent called by his name these manuscripts once belonged, and we naturally turn to the volumes themselves for some hint of their history. The last page of Mark promises such a hint, for it bears a subscription in a hand little if at all later than that of the manuscript itself.

⁶ Butler, Ancient Coptic Churches of Egypt, I, 352.

⁷ Leipoldt, Schenute von Atripe.



THE FREER GOSPELS Mark 16:17-20

Professor Grenfell assures me that this scribal addition cannot be later than the fifth century. It reads:

χριστε αγιε συ μετα του δουλου σου τιμοθεου | και παντων των αυτου.

The last two words of the first line are written over an erasure, some other name having originally stood where that of Timotheus now stands. Two questions suggest themselves: who was this Timotheus? and whose name originally stood here? Upon the second of these points, in the light of what has been said above, we may hazard a conjecture. For what name is the scribe so likely to have written as the name of Sinuthius himself? That name would comfortably fill the space to be accounted for. It would accord with the established source of the manuscript. It would be a natural name to write, in a book belonging to the convent of Sinuthius. not so much as a prayer for the founder himself, as for his foundation and its inmates. Such conventual impersonations are familiar to students of mediaeval manuscript-subscriptions, witness those relating to St. Gall. and we have seen how for centuries the convent has gone by its founder's name. Further, the name of Sinuthius standing there might even suggest to the later scribe who altered it the name which he supplied. The name of Sinuthius, for whom he cared little, called to his mind the name of Timotheus, his abbot, patriarch, or patron, for whom he cared much. It is reasonable to suppose that the earlier name was not wholly different from the one which has been put in its place. Most important of all, the plate shows that the name first written certainly ended in -600 and almost certainly in $-\theta \in \mathcal{O}_{\mathcal{O}}$, since these letters are clearly in the hand in which the original parts of the line are written. We venture the surmise that this ancient subscription originally read:

χριστε αγιε συ μετα του δουλου σου σινουθεου | και παντων των αυτου.

Professor Sanders is reported to have discussed the identity of Timotheus in a paper recently read at Toronto, and soon to appear in the American Journal of Archaeology. His discussion has been summarized in the Nation, December 31, 1908. Pending the fuller publication of his view, a different one may here be presented. The half-century following the death of Sinuthius and the Council of Chalcedon was a time of ecclesiastical controversy and rival patriarchates in Egypt. The Alexandrians refused to accept Proterius, and proclaimed a patriarch of their own, Timotheus Aelurus, who long disputed the office with one Timotheus Salophaciolus, and finally secured it. The monks of the interior, as my friend Mr. C. H. Moehlmann has pointed out to me, stood by Timotheus Aelurus, as they had stood by Cyril.⁸ Indeed the strongest ties united Shenute and

⁸ Mr. Moehlmann has contributed several helpful suggestions to this paper.

Timotheus with Cyril and Dioscorus. At Cyril's invitation, and in his support. Shenute attended the Council of Ephesus, A. D. 431, and Dioscorus invited him to that of Chalcedon, which he probably did not live to attend. Upon the deposition of Dioscorus, after Chalcedon, the people and the monks refused to accept the aristocratic nominee Proterius as his successor, recognizing no patriarch but Dioscorus until his death. Even then they refused to accept Proterius, and appointed Timotheus Aelurus their patriarch. Timotheus was naturally in sympathy with his predecessors, Cyril and Dioscorus, and presumably their old adherents were with him. The conditions at the Dair Abyad thus present an adequate psychological motive for the change in this subscription. The sympathies of the monks after the death of Shenute and Dioscorus were with the deposed and fugitive patriarch, Timotheus Aelurus, and it seems likely that it was in his honor that in his exile (460-75) some scribe of the convent substituted the patriarch's name for the founder's, changing the prayer for the convent into a prayer for the rightful patriarch and all the faithful of Egypt. As the new name was a little shorter than the old, the scribe erased the preceding oou as well, that he might have more letters among which to distribute the surplus space.

On the last page of the manuscript of the Coptic Clement, Carl Schmidt found these words in the margin, written in a hand which Dr. Schubart assigns to the fourth century:

ελεισον με κ $(v\rho\iota)$ ε οτι κα | τηπατησεν με αν $(\theta\rho\omega\pi)$ ος.

This is substantially the reading of Vaticanus in Ps. 55 (56): 2, against Sinaiticus and the Verona and Turin Psalters, which read o $\theta(\epsilon 0)$ s instead of kuple. It will be of interest to learn how the Freer Psalter reads in this passage. Whether the hand that wrote this Greek prayer at the end of the Coptic Clement is the same that wrote the Greek prayer at the end of the Freer Gospels, we do not yet know. Yet it is a coincidence that into both these manuscripts brief Greek prayers have been written, in early cursive hands. Professor Gregory thinks the second line of the Mark subscription is in a different hand from the first, but in this I cannot concur. The second line, though in smaller letters, shows all the traits of the original parts of the first.

Of the manuscripts thus far reported to have come from the White Monastery, none seem to be later than the early years of the ninth century. This suggests that the deposit disappeared from view at an early date, since otherwise it would seem that it should exhibit a sprinkling at least of later manuscripts, among the more venerable ones. Those pages of the gospel manuscript which Professor Sanders has published, show no Euse-

bian section or canon numbers, and even lack the familiar indications of church readings, or lections, for Sabbaths, Sundays, and other holy days. so often written into ancient manuscripts to fit them for church use. This point seems decidedly unfavorable to the view that these gospels ever formed part of the "Bible" of a church or convent; they must rather now be studied as part of the larger group which came from Anba Shanûdah in 1906. On the other hand, such freedom from liturgical treatment is altogether natural in a convent which, like Shenute's, was from the first wholly Coptic, and in no place can the early neglect into which these codices apparently fell be more easily understood. At all events, these manuscripts are singularly free from traces of mediaeval meddling, and we may reasonably suppose them to have been walled up or somehow lost sight of not earlier, but probably not much later, than the ninth century. And it seems altogether likely that whatever their place of origin, the Freer Gospels, and with them doubtless the other Freer manuscripts, have lain for a thousand years in the convent of the great Sinuthius.

Jerome was in Egypt in A. D. 386. He spent a month in Alexandria and visited the Nitrian monasteries. With a certain Nitrian palimpsest of Homer the Freer Deuteronomy-Joshua has been shown to exhibit striking correspondence in hand and ruling.9 The two manuscripts certainly come from the same period and place. Whatever that place was, possibly some Nitrian convent, from it manuscripts found their way both to Nitrian libraries, like the Homer, and to the White Monastery, like the Deuteronomy-Joshua. The same lines of manuscript transmission would connect Jerome's reading in Mark 16:14 with the Freer Gospels, the only other extant witness for it. May it not be that in some Nitrian library Jerome saw, in A.D. 386, either the parent manuscript from which the Freer Gospels were copied, or a sister manuscript copied from that parent, or even the Freer Gospels themselves? This is the simplest way in which this extraordinary coincidence can be accounted for. In all his wanderings Jerome seems to have been on the lookout for new textual materials; thus at Caesarea he is said to have borrowed the Hexapla to copy. Having noted this reading, or a part of it, in a Nitrian manuscript, he might easily remark years later, with characteristic looseness and exaggeration, that it occurred "in some copies and especially in Greek codices." This is not unlike his free and easy way of using Eusebius, for example. It must be remembered that no other report of this reading has come down to us than that of Jerome and the Freer Gospels, and it seems not improbable that it was one of the textual gleanings of Jerome's Nitrian pilgrimage.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
9 The Biblical World, March, 1908, pp. 218, 219.

Work and Workers

REV. W. B. Selbie, of Cambridge, England, has been elected principal of Mansfield College, Oxford, to succeed Dr. Fairbairn, resigned.

Professor Crawford Howell Toy, having reached the age of 73 years, has resigned his professorship in Harvard University to take effect September 17, 1909.

Dr. George A. Reisner, who has been under appointment of the British government to collect and save Egyptian inscriptions about to be submerged by the raising of the dam at Aswan, has resigned his position to take charge of the excavations of Harvard University at Samaria.

REV. D. C. MACINTOSH, a former graduate student of the University of Chicago, and now professor of systematic theology and instructor in Hebrew at Brandon College, Brandon, Manitoba, has accepted a call to the professorship of systematic theology in the Divinity School of Yale University.

THE AMERICAN BIBLE SOCIETY announces that Mrs. Russell Sage has kindly extended for one year the time during which subscriptions may be received to make up the half-million dollars necessary to meet her offer of another half-million, the whole million to be a perpetual endownment for the society. All Christians should rally to the permanence of a society which has for its fundamental purpose "the translation and circulation of the Bible."

DR. SELAH MERRILL died at Fruitvale, Cal., January 22, 1909, at the age of seventy-one. Dr. Merrill served as United States consul in Jerusalem, 1882-85, 1891-93, and 1898-1907. At an earlier time he had spent two years (1874-76) in Palestine exploration. This long residence in the Holy Land, combined with his theological and oriental training at Yale and Berlin, gave Dr. Merrill extraordinary familiarity with the archaeology of Jerusalem, Galilee, and the region east of Jordan. As consul at Jerusalem, he often took occasion to give American students and visitors the benefit of his archaeological researches, and he addressed a wider public in his books: East of the Jordan (1881-83), Galilee in the Time of Christ (1881), and Ancient Jerusalem (1906). Dr. Merrill filled a unique place in American oriental scholarship, and his rugged and kindly personality will be gratefully remembered by many to whom he interpreted the antiquities of Jerusalem.

Book Reviews

Jerusalem in Bible Times. By Lewis Bayles Paton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pages xii+167. \$1.

Ancient Jerusalem. By Selah Merrill. Illustrated. New York and Chicago: F. H. Revell Co., 1908. Pages 419. \$6.

Jerusalem. By George Adam Smith. 2 vols. New York: A. C. Armstrong & Son, 1908. Pages xx+498; xvi+631. \$7.50.

Jerusalem has a perpetual fascination for biblical students. Though merely an inland city, on no highway of commerce, it has a continuous history extending through three thousand years. Its only justification for its out-of-the-way location is its natural fortifications, its defensive qualities. Perched as it is on two or more hills it has been able to survive nearly twenty sieges, some of them totally destructive of its walls and buildings, and to withstand as many more severe military assaults. These batterings down and buildings up, through fully three thousand years, have almost hopelessly obliterated the earlier dimensions and walls of the city, and given students of its topography and history problems that will last for all time.

The place which archaeology is taking in the interpretation of ancient writings has turned attention anew to the value of investigating biblical sites. The recent activity of the Palestine Exploration Fund at Gezer, of the German Fund at Megiddo and Jericho, and of Harvard University at Samaria, are striking evidences of this new archaeological trend of biblical scholars. Though the "finds" have not been remarkable, they have flashed some light on the early customs of Canaan and its relation to its neighbors. These "finds" are being published in splendid volumes, which are laying before students a visual presentation of facts which may aid us in properly interpreting hitherto obscure portions of the Old Testament.

Professor Paton was the Director of the American School of Oriental Study and Research in Palestine during the year 1903-4. As a resident of the Holy City during nine months of that year, he put in his time industriously in a thorough investigation of its topography and history, especially within Bible times. By skilful use of the camera he secured a fine collection of photographs, many of which he reproduces in this book. These add greatly to the attractiveness of the volume and to the understanding of the text. Within a compass of twelve chapters the author covers the topography (chaps. 1-5) and the history (chaps. 6-12) of the city.

These chapters are succinct statements of the belief up to date of the best authorities, including Professor Paton himself, on each item. The two chapters (4 and 5) on "The City of David," and "Zion, Ophel, and Moriah," present the arguments very fairly and conclusively (as against Dr. Merrill) that these were the names attached to the southeast hill. It has been considered since the statements of Josephus gained credence, that the City of David, and Zion were to be identified with the southwest and higher hill of the group. Having concluded this—one of the most important topographical details—Professor Paton proceeds to a history of the city through successive periods down to the time of Christ. Though very condensed, the book is clear and to the point. It interprets with directness and force the full import of scores of Scripture passages. It is a valuable guide to the Holy City.

Dr. Selah Merrill, whose recent death is mentioned elsewhere in this number, occupied the position of U. S. consul at Jerusalem for sixteen years. He must have had superb opportunities for collecting information at first hand on any subject connected with Palestinian archaeology. His explorations, East of the Jordan and Galilee in the Time of Christ are already well known. His close relations with excavators and explorers have put him in a position to speak authoritatively on many questions. This volume is presented solely on his authority, except where he quotes in the text. There is no bibliography and no bibliographical detail to interrupt or aid the author in his statements. Personalities and criticism of the opinions of other writers are thus practically eliminated.

The first twenty-seven chapters (pp. 1–179) are practically a description of the approach of the army under Titus in 70 A.D.,, the location of its camps, its various assaults, its successful gains, and its capture of the city. The recital of the details of these processes is at the same time a study of the topographical and archaeological features of the campaign. Josephus is often quoted, and as an authority who can be trusted. Where Josephus speaks of the occurences of his own day, this is perhaps true. But where he expresses an opinion of earlier events, he must be weighed in the balances.

The entire first half of the volume is profusely furnished with maps, charts, and plans of Jerusalem to illustrate almost every little detail of the movements of the troops of Titus, of the location of various public buildings, and of the several old walls which had been built in earlier times. These, too, are supplemented by a profusion of beautiful half-tone pictures of the modern buildings, walls, valleys, and the like—the best we have seen in any popular work. The last half of the book (chaps. xxviii–xli) is composed of a series of rather disconnected themes of an archaeological character, such as "Governors and Procurators" (xxviii), "The Tower of Antonia"

(xxxi), "The Site and Building of the Temple" (xxxv), "Maktesh—The Market Place" (xxxviii), "Basilica" (xxxix), and "Nehemiah" (xl). Some of these, for example, "Basilica," have little to do with Jerusalem, and others read like notebook sketches. Nevertheless they are informing and interesting, especially when accompanied with such masterpieces of the photographer's art. Dr. Merrill's work differs from both the Smith and Paton volumes in that he locates "Zion," "the City of David," on the southwest hill. This supposition underlies his discussion of the topography of the lower half of the city and thus vitally modifies some of his interpretations of the biblical references to this height. The author leans rather heavily on Josephus and thus differs in several respects from the results achieved by the later school of archaeologists. The publishers have done a capital piece of work in the way of illustrations but we must protest against such heavy paper and such a high price in a book which appeals to popular favor.

Professor George Adam Smith has become a recognized authority on Palestine through his Historical Geography of the Holy Land. During a long succession of visits to Jerusalem he has familiarized himself with its topography and life. In the meantime, he has fully investigated its history, economics, and politics. He has embodied his results in these two portly volumes. We anticipated real delight in their reading and study —for some parts of them must be studied to be appreciated—and we are not disappointed. The first volume is broken into two books. Book I is a minute and painstaking investigation of the topography of Jerusalem, including its geology, earthquakes, springs, waters, hills, valleys, and walls. The one chief controversial question in Book I is that as to the location of "Zion, Ophel, and the City of David." In a masterful manner the author marshals the arguments of topography and archaeology, and finds these places identified with the East hill, just above Gihon, the present Virgin's Spring. An examination of all the biblical data and those of the Apocrypha shows that they wholly agree with the former conclusions. The hill was about as large as the primitive city of Gezer, and hence ample for the location of the Jebusite stronghold which David captured about the time of his becoming king of all Israel. Book II is a delightfully fresh discussion of the economics and politics of Jerusalem. Some of the material is here handled in a popular manner for the first time. The economic problems of a comparatively isolated and seaportless city are troublesome. The discussion follows in order: the ethnic and economic origins of Jerusalem; the city lands; the natural resources of the city; its commerce and imports; the royal revenues; estates, tribute, tithes, taxation; the temple

revenues, properties, and finance; trades, crafts, and industries; government and police; and "the multitude." The facts for these pages have been gathered from all available sources; from Josephus and other contemporaries, from Greek, Latin, and Arabian writers, and from the Bible. The last two chapters give a summary of the principal political events under the Romans, and during the war of independence, thus bringing the history down to 70 A.D. This section of the work is a valuable contribution to the history of this old city.

Volume II (Book III) contains a history of Jerusalem, with such parts of the special topography as are appropriate to particular periods, from its first mention in the Tel el-Amarna tablets of ca. 1400 B.C. down to "The Jerusalem of the Gospels." The first 366 pages are a retreatment of the history of Israel as enacted in and about Jerusalem. The author has been alert to every ray of light shed upon it by contemporaries, but did not have the advantage of the new Elephantine inscriptions of the fifth century B.C. Every page shows that he has not only laid all literature tributary to him, but that he has, in many cases, pursued with zest textual-critical problems of no mean importance.

One of the fullest and richest chapters in the book is that which deals with "The Jew and the Greek" (chap. xv). The invasion, policies, and conquests of Alexander the Great are treated with gratifying fulness on the basis of every scrap of information available. The tremendous growth and influence of the Greeks crop out in the next chapter, "Jerusalem under the Maccabees and the Hasmoneans, 168–38 B.C." This life and death struggle—the tragedy of Jewish history—is painted in the most vivid colors. The heroism of the Maccabees flashes out with new brilliancy under Dr. Smith's estimates and portrayal. The book of Daniel does service here that immortalizes the valor of the Jews. Nearly fifty pages are devoted to the character, the events, and the achievements of Herod the Great. Jerusalem, when touched by his magic wand, became a city of artistic beauty, although it sheltered one of the best hated characters in all history. The story of his career is told with force and grace, though true to what we know of his life.

This work is our masterpiece on Jerusalem. It will be the authority until extensive excavations materially change the calculations and conclusions of archaeologists and historians. We congratulate the author and Bible students on its issuance in this opportune time.

IRA MAURICE PRICE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

The Apologetic of the New Testament. By Ernest F. Scott. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907. Pp. 258. \$1.50.1

One of the first necessities for a proper understanding of the New Testament is an appreciation of the circumstances and purpose which prompted the writing of each book. The first believers were men of action who possessed remarkable religious vitality, and, though they met opposition in every quarter, they labored strenuously for the advancement of their new faith. As this opposition from time to time assumed different forms they varied the character of their defense accordingly, consequently the literature which they produced is permeated with their apologetic. Scott's purpose is to study this apologetic element in their writings in order to understand its true nature and to estimate its value as a guide for us in our efforts to defend our faith. He finds five principal items in the early apologetic: (1) Jesus' messiahship, (2) Christianity and Judaism, (3) Christianity and heathenism, (4) Christianity and gnosticism, (5) Christianity as the absolute religion. We shall consider each topic briefly.

- 1. The first believers were convinced of the uniqueness of Jesus' personality, and so they sought for an adequate category in which to express this idea. They thought they found it in the Jewish national hope of a Messiah, and forthwith they proceeded to proclaim the messiahship of Jesus. This phase of thought appears especially prominent in the early part of Acts, but it was soon felt that this explanation was not altogether adequate—he was much more than was involved in the mere idea of messiahship. There was no inclination to abandon this early idea at this time, but there was a tendency to strip it of its narrow national significance and give it a spiritual interpretation. Paul was the chief mover in this direction. He by no means abandoned the idea of messiahship, but he emphasized the fact that Christ was chiefly significant as the one through whom men have spiritual fellowship with God. In the Epistle to the Hebrews, and in the Fourth Gospel, the messianic idea has fallen into the background and the larger, profounder one of an incarnation of the eternal Word has taken its place. The old conception was too narrow to comprehend the fulness of Jesus' personality, so it was gradually forsaken so far as its essential content was concerned. In this the church surrendered nothing. It only asserted more boldly, and with fuller comprehension of its meaning, the true claim of Jesus.
- 2. At first the Christians did not withdraw from Judaism, nor were they conscious that the new and the old religions were at heart mutually
- ¹ This review is a specimen of those furnished to the readers of the Professional Reading-Courses conducted by the American Institute of Sacred Literature.

exclusive. Radical elements of newness were however at the very foundation of Jesus' teaching, for example, (1) he substituted the idea of an inward, self-determined obedience for that of statutory law, (2) in his conception of God he displaced the Jewish idea of judge and king by that of heavenly Father. (3) he instituted a new order of moral values at variance with those of Judaism, that is, righteousness before the law was worthless before his standard of righteousness in principle and motive. Again, it is Paul who is chiefly instrumental in liberating Christianity from Judaism. For him the essential function of religion is the establishment of communion between man and God. This Judaism failed to effect, but Christianity had accomplished it, hence the superiority of the latter. Through its controversy with Judaism Christianity came to realize its truly universal character; and while Paul's defense is marred by the antiquated categories he frequently employs, yet fundamentally he was setting forth the modern religious fact of the renewing power of the life which puts itself into harmony with the spirit of Christ.

- 3. Paul was also the principal defender of Christianity against heathenism. There are two sides to his apologetic. First, the negative, in which he criticizes the nature and spirit of heathenism; and second, the positive, in which he presents Christianity as the solution of the heathen's religious problems. He characterized Paganism as essentially the worship of the creature instead of the creator. All men originally had inward light and might have recognized the true God in nature, but they allowed themselves to be deluded by the demons so that they were brought into a state of ignorance. They still had a spiritual nature and longed for redemption, but were ignorantly seeking it in creature-worship. Here Christianity comes in, giving true wisdom and redemption, the earnest of which is realized here and now in the new spiritual society, the Christian church.
- 4. It is only an incipient stage of gnosticism that appears in the New Testament, yet its presence is easily detected. It held that the central fact in the religious life was knowledge, which seems to have been defined as a crude philosophical dualism of spirit and matter. Matter was inherently and irredeemably evil, and spirit alone was eternal, therefore it was of little consequence how one lived his physical life—he might ascetically repress the flesh, or he might indulge its lusts freely—if he had a proper philosophical comprehension of the supremacy of spirit. Redemption consisted in possessing this higher wisdom which thus largely ignored evil matter. It was impossible for the Son of God to take on this inherently evil flesh, so he only seemed to be human, and bodily resurrection for anyone was absurd. The spirit alone was eternal, and its eternal life began even

in this existence as the individual entered the domain of true knowledge. Moreover, Christ was not the only intermediate divine agency in redemption, but the chief one among several. The New Testament polemic declares the Gnostics' teaching to be a false knowledge, and accuses them of neglecting the importance of the ethical and religious in Christianity. It also emphasizes in contrast to gnosticism the unique supremacy of Christ and the genuineness of his humanity. Christianity gained several things by the gnostic controversy. It became more stable in its reliance upon the historical Jesus, it took advantage to some extent of the gnostic idea of the significance of the spirit, but did not abandon the ethical basis of religion, and it learned to think of Christianity in relation to the universe as a whole and not as a unique something without any cosmic significance.

5. Thus the way was prepared for the presentation of Christianity as a scheme of truth valid for all time, the absolute religion. From the first its adherents had believed it to be the only true religion, but they were ever looking to the future for some new event (such as Jesus' second coming) to effect the final consummation. This was true of the first disciples, and also of Paul in a less literal sense, but the writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews and the Gospel of John believed the revelation already made in the Jesus of history was final—the scheme of religion had been perfected once and for all time. Of course there might be future events, but they were not necessary to supplement the present revelation. Hebrews attempts to demonstrate the absolute worth of Christianity by showing its superiority to Judaism, which was the highest among the old religions; but the author of the Fourth Gospel, on the basis of his own religious experience of the supreme worth of Jesus in the sphere of the spirit, sets forth his conviction in terms of the Alexandrian logos doctrine. Since Jesus is the divine logos the revelation made through him is final, and is a communication of divine life to men. His work is not something apart, but is an ever-present and growing revelation. Scott thinks the argument for the absolute worth of Christianity is thus put upon its true basis.

In conclusion he estimates the value of the entire New Testament apologetic for our use today. Changed problems make it comparatively worthless if taken literally, but it has much value if its spirit and principles are adapted to modern issues. The ultimate authority which guides the New Testament apologists is the inward witness of the spirit, and in this they approach nearer and nearer to Jesus' own idea. What is needed today is a recognition of the new facts of knowledge, and a restatement, in the light of them, of permanent Christian truths.

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by James Hastings, with the Co-operation of John A. Selbie, and with the assistance of John C. Lambert and of Shailer Mathews. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xvi+992. \$5.

This is a notable volume and should meet a hearty welcome. It is the first and only popular Bible dictionary in which modern methods of interpretation prevail throughout. Furthermore, every article is accompanied by the name of the author. The amount of matter in the volume is astonishingly large, a fact due to economy of space and to the use of a rather small type. It can be unreservedly commended to the educated layman and Sunday-school teacher.

GOODSPEED C., AND WELTON, D. M. The Book of Genesis. [An American Commentary on the Old Testament.] Philadelphia, American Baptist Publication Society, 1909. Pp. xxxvii+253.

An exposition of Genesis along the lines of the scholarship of half a century ago. It is a reverent and conservative interpretation. The essential unity and the Mosaic authorship of the Hexateuch are adhered to rigidly. As showing the spirit and point of view the following may be quoted from the defense of the genuineness of Jacob's dying address to his sons, "the arguments adduced in support of these several views (i. e., divisive hypotheses) are of very little weight, and to the consistent believer in revelation, of none at all." The flood is dated at 2468 B. c. Again, "our first parents, to whom the first promise was given, were doubtless informed of the way of salvation by Christ, to whom these bloody sacrifices pointed." The commentary will be useful to those whose theological presuppositions render works from the modern point of view objectionable to them.

ARTICLES

Barnes, W. E. The David of the Book of Samuel and the David of the Book of Chronicles. *The Expositor*, January, 1909.

This article points out the contrast between the two pictures of David and shows how the Chronicler's narrative was influenced by his purpose to write a history of Israel's temple and religion. The value of the Chronicler's religious teaching is then emphasized.

STAUDT, C. K. The Contribution of the Hebrews to Civilization. The Reformed Church Review, January, 1909, pp. 1-15.

Under this large topic the writer subsumes a few generalizations that are generally accepted as true. The language and thought of the article recall an editorial in the *Biblical World*, Vol. IX, pp. 161 ff.

DHORME, R. P. Les pays bibliques au temps d'El-Amarna. Revue biblique, January, 1909, pp. 50-73.

The second installment of a long and careful study of the testimony of the Tel el-Amarna letters to contemporary conditions in Palestine and Syria. This section is devoted to the political relations of the times.

TORREY, C. C. The Chronicler as Editor and as Independent Narrator. The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, January, 1909.

The first portion of an article to be concluded in the April issue. The author credits the Chronicler with a much greater share in the Books of Chronicles than is

generally conceded him and considers his contributions as having slight relation to historical facts.

MÜLLER, W. MAX. The Semitic God of Tahpanhes, Probably an Ancient Relief of Yahveh. *The Open Court*, January, 1909, pp. 1-5.

An attempt to identify the figure of a God on a limestone stele found at Tell Defenneh (Biblical Tahpanhes) with Jehovah. There is not the slightest tangible evidence for the identification. It is not even certain that the God represented is a Palestinian deity.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Otto, Rudolph. Life and Ministry of Jesus, according to the Historical and Critical Method. [Christianity of Today Series.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 85. 75 cents.

This translation of three German lectures gives an interesting and sympathetic sketch of Jesus' ministry and teaching, from a strictly critical point of view.

Dole, Charles F. What We Know About Jesus. [Christianity of Today Series.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 89. 75 cents.

This book deals rather with what we think, than with what we know, about Jesus, and that in a decidedly negative way. It is too meager a sketch, however, to perform even this task adequately, and is further largely absorbed in the destructive process.

Rumball, Edwin A. Jesus and Modern Religion. [Christianity of Today Series.] Chicago: Open Court Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 155. 75 cents.

While there is not a little that is good in this book, as a discussion of its theme it fails through seriously underestimating the present religious value of Jesus.

HARNACK, ADOLF. The Acts of the Apostles. Translated by J. R. Wilkinson. [Crown Theological Library.] New York: Putnam, 1909. Pp. xliii+303. \$1.75 net.

Professor Harnack's recent Apostelgeschichte, the third in his series of New Testament studies, now appears in attractive English form. It presents a wealth of material relating to Acts, and interestingly exhibits Harnack's notable method of inquiry. The Introduction, especially, is a brilliant and telling piece of historical writing. Harnack seeks a "more assured judgment" as to the degree in which Acts is homogeneous, inquires into the sources and their trustworthiness, and seeks further proof of the identity of the writer of the we-sections with the author of the whole. The translator's failure to supply an index is deplorable.

CLEMEN, C. Religionsgeschichtliche Erklärung des Neuen Testaments. Giessen: Töpelmann, 1909. Pp. 301. M. 10.

The relationships of New Testament types of thought and symbolism to non-Jewish religions and philosophies are discriminatingly treated in this important book.

FAIRWEATHER, WILLIAM. The Background of the Gospels, or Judaism in the Period between the Old and New Testaments. [Cunningham Lectures, Twentieth Series.] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1908. Imported by Scribner. Pp. xxx+456. \$3.

An intelligent and comprehensive treatment of later Judaism, with especial reference to the times of Jesus. Discussions of the Maccabaean Struggle, the Herodian Age, the Apocalyptic Movement, and Hellenistic Judaism constitute the bulk of the work. There is a full bibliography, and numerous critical notes and complete indices conclude the volume.





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THE NESTORIAN TABLET (As Mr. von Holm found it)

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Editorial

RELIGIOUS EDUCATION AND SOCIAL DUTY

THE CONVENTION OF THE RELIGIOUS EDUCATION ASSOCIATION

The sixth convention of the Religious Education Association, held in Chicago in February, devoted itself to a consideration of the relation of religious education to social duty. The intimateness of the relation cannot be doubted. Speakers who were to consider such topics as "The Social Conscience," "Racial Adjustment," "Social Legislation," "The Ethics of Industrialism," found themselves naturally defending the relation of these to religious education.

Of course there is a widespread social interest that is not religious at all. Indeed we are at present in the midst of a world-wide awakening of the social conscience, which, to a large extent at least, seems to be independent of the church, and to have arisen outside of the influences of formal religious education. And, on the other hand, there is a very large religious propagandism that is entirely individualistic, regarding social readjustment as an incidental result rather than as a direct concern of religion. But a religious education which turns the mighty emotional impulse of the religious experience into its natural outlet in social service, and relates the passion of the soul for communion with God with the passion of the awakened conscience for social righteousness—alike longings after a real unity of life—will produce the leaders of both the religious and social forces of the future. As Professor Peabody declared, it is the present task of religion to bring the awakened social conscience into relation with eternal law.

There is still a great deal of teaching that has the practical effect of making people think of God as a far-away religious Being, who is especially interested in receiving worship, having his Book read, his Day kept, and his tithe paid. It is an absolutely transforming conception to come to the idea of God working through the ages in men for social righteousness, calling them to be laborers together with him in bringing justice and truth in the éarth.

BIBLE TEACHING AND SOCIAL DUTY

This has a most practical bearing on biblical teaching in pulpit and Sunday school. If the Old Testament is taught as the history of a people who worshiped Jehovah rather than idols, and the New Testament as the propagation of a new creed in the Graeco-Roman world, that teaching has no contact with the awakened social conscience or with the vital interests of the modern world. As soon as the socializing instincts of youth begin the real meaning of this great literature must be presented.

The heart of the Old Testament is not Jehovah worship, but Jehovah's purpose to dwell among men in righteousness. The prophetic law means always social duty. The sermons of the prophets are concerned with justice and generosity in the relations of life as the supreme concern of Jehovah. In the Psalms God is on the side of the oppressed and is going to save them. When the Psalmist longs for his soul to be saved he means that he may have the chance to live a life in this world free from oppressive limitation, exactly what we mean by social freedom.

The New Testament seems less concerned with social duty because of its expectation of the establishment of righteousness through the catastrophic advent of the Messiah. But Jesus' thought from first to last is that men are to be a republic of brothers, trusting in their heavenly Father for all care and good, glorifying him in social duty. In point of fact, the spirit and teaching of Jesus have most intimate relation with the awakened social conscience of today. It is for the biblical teacher to make the relation more and more intimate. And if the apostolic writings seem to favor individualistic salvation in view of a speedy end of the age, yet the broad human love, the hope that their gospel will purify the corruptions of the world, the devotion to duty even in the midst of wrongs, the breakdown of race prejudice and of caste, the equality and love within the Christian community, the glorious universalism that linked Jew and Gentile,

master and slave, learned and ignorant—all these inspire us to the social salvation which is the messianic hope of our day.

CONVERSION AND SOCIAL DUTY

But is not the religious experience essentially personal? Do not the New Testament converts manifest supremely a new personal relation to God in Jesus Christ? Are not the pious in all ages, and not less today, the men and women who rejoice in the removal of the sense of unwholeness and in the blessed union with God that results? Is not Christ the redeemer of the soul? And if all this be true, is not religious education concerned supremely with the production of this God-life in men, compared with which all social activity and fussiness is in vain? Thus with our different points of view we are keeping separate the two mighty forces that must be joined. Conversion is the turning from the self attitude to the Christ attitude. It is the glad willingness that God's will shall be done on earth. It is personal and social at the same time. It is the devotion of a purified life to social duty. It is discipleship to Christ, to love God with him, to keep oneself unspotted from the world with him, to live in the world with passionate longing for its betterment with him, to begin the programme of betterment by the performance of the immediate social duty with him.

So the summons to Christian discipleship in our Sunday schools and pulpits must be broadened. It means the entrance upon a campaign. It means the fight for righteousness in one's own soul and in the world. It comes to the awakened social conscience with the declaration that these hopes and longings for better things are God given, Christ inspired. He who has such holy hopes must not dare to be a sinner himself. Everyone that hath this hope purifieth himself. He who has such inspired longings for his fellow-men must not fail to pray. God is calling such a man in the very experience of social obligation, and through it he may come into the rich religious experience of fellowship with the Father and Lover of men.

THE RELIGIOUS TEACHING OF SOCIAL DUTY

The church must undertake definitely the teaching of social duty. There are many churches in which a person might spend a lifetime, belonging to the school, the clubs, the societies, and never learn anything about his specific obligations to the community in which he was living. The fundamental necessity is knowledge, but the ordinary church member does not know his own town. The church is the place to give instruction regarding the administration of charities, the conditions of the poor, the treatment of criminals, defective, insane, the local jail, and poor-house, the matters of public health, the administration of the schools, etc. And from the discussions of earnest men and women on these questions opportunities of direct social activity would develop. The first social duty is social knowledge. There can be no adequate religious education which fails of enlightenment regarding the conditions of human life in one's own community.

The objection is often made that the church is not even teaching the Bible well, and how can she teach anything else besides? The scant Sunday-school hour is not the only time for such instruction. The Young People's Society, the Men's Club, the Women's Society, the Sunday evening hour in many places, the mid-week meeting (without at all leaving out the opportunity of prayer and religious expression), afford times that are often employed to very little advantage, for this most serious business of the religious life. And in any case social duty demands time, and earnest souls will not fail to find it.

FOREIGN MISSIONS AS SOCIAL DUTY

The church has presented the missionary enterprise as a great opportunity for self-denying effort. But there is need of relating this effort to the social endeavors of our day. Missionary teaching must be socialized. The awakened social conscience will not be greatly interested in supplanting one religion by another. Rightly or wrongly, men will feel that each nation must be allowed to express its religious experience in its own way. But when it is realized that the opening of the world has brought the Caucasian into contact with the lessfavored peoples, that he is trading with them, teaching them inevitably his tricks, his frauds, his vices, giving them all that is bad in his civilization, the social conscience demands that he must give them his best also. The most effective missionary education is that which presents the enterprise as a great brotherly endeavor to bring the backward nations into the family of civilization, that they may share our science, our education, our physical advantages, our Christian morality and love, our knowledge of God in Jesus Christ.

AENON NEAR TO SÂLIM

PROFESSOR BENJAMIN W. BACON, D.D. Yale University, New Haven, Conn.

In an article entitled "The Baptism of John-Where Was It?" published in The Biblical World for July, 1907, I endeavored to show that Synoptic tradition on this question in its ultimate form is in harmony with the data of Josephus, and points to the region of Peraea, southward of the modern town of Es-Salt, as that principally affected by the Baptist's activity. It is true that this is not "the wilderness of Judaea," immemorial haunt of the world-fleeing anchorite, as well as of the outlaw and freebooter. Baptisms "in Jordan" are equally impossible from "the wilderness of Judaea," which is not contiguous to it, and from the high plateau of Peraea, where Furrer would locate "Bethany beyond Jordan" of John 1:28. But the Peraean plateau, which southward of Batneh breaks down toward the Jordan in a vast amphitheater of foothills, extending almost to Madeba in Moab, has at least this advantage over "the wilderness of Judaea" as a possible scene of the Baptist's activity, that the gathering of multitudes here would not only be much easier, but much more likely to provoke the intervention of Antipas, than similar gatherings in the jurisdiction of his arch-enemy Pilate. Indeed we can hardly think of the arrest of John under the circumstances related by Josephus, and his imprisonment in Machaerus, a fortress on the extreme southern frontier of Antipas' Peraean dominions, unless the region affected was really Peraea. Thus the statement of the Fourth Gospel that "the place where John was baptizing at the first" was "in Bethany beyond Jordan," in a locality later described as "the village of Mary and Martha" (John 1:28; 3:26; 10:40; cf. Luke 10:38-42), is in substance confirmed. Such a "Bethany" is indeed unknown, for Furrer himself is unable to make the philological transition from "Bethany" to Batneh without the supposition of "assimilation to the Judaean Bethany." Still we have some reason to regard the

Johannine tradition of the *region concerned* as a valuable supplement, not to say a correction, of the Synoptic "wilderness of Judaea."

What then can be said of the Fourth Evangelist's remarkable reference to a subsequent activity of the Baptist "in Aenon near to Sâlim?"

Many data of the Fourth Gospel are regarded with the suspicion. well or ill-founded, of being adapted to the evangelist's didactic purpose. That this writer sometimes attaches a profound symbolical significance even to names of localities is apparent from his rendering of the name "Siloam" in 9:7. But in 3:23 there is no indication of symbolism. It would be extravagant and far-fetched to suppose that the name and description of the place where John was baptizing at the time of the alleged controversy between his disciples and disciples of Jesus¹ in Judaea, have any significance other than the plain geographical one. There is no reason to assign them to any other derivation than a more or less accurate and trustworthy local tradition. Followers of the Baptist at Aenon near to Sâlim, a place where John was reputed, himself, to have baptized "because there were many waters there," were provoked to jealousy by the great following obtained by those who practiced the Baptism of Jesus in "the land of Judaea." There should be all the less dispute as to the evangelist's plain matter-of-fact intention in these geographical data from the fact that within the limit of the next few verses (4:3-6) he gives further tangible and concrete data, which are not only verifiable by the modern geographer, but suffice in the present writer's judgment to prove the evangelist's personal familiarity with the scenes described.² On the other hand the nature of his composition is such, so sovereign in its disregard of the mere externals of actual history, that we can attach no authority whatever to its implications of time or event, so as to place the Baptist's activity in "Aenon near to Sâlim" in a period

¹ The question has been raised whether the "questioning of John's disciples with a Jew about purifying," in John 3:25, represents the original text: because the context has nothing to say about rivalry between the followers of John and of the synagogue authorities, but only between John's disciples and adherents of the church. Hence the conjecture of O. Holtzmann (Kommentar) and Baldensperger (Prolog des vierten Evangeliums, p. 66) of $\tau \hat{\omega} v$, or $\tau o \hat{v} \cdot I \eta \sigma o \hat{v}$ instead of 'Iovôalov, which would give the sense required. Without raising the question of text, however, we may accept this sense as the general sense of the context. The "Jew" is not interested for the purifications of his Judaism but for those of Christianity.

² Cf., e.g., "this mountain," vss. 20 f.

subsequent to the Peraean and coincident with an activity of Jesus' disciples in "the land of Judaea." We cannot even be sure of the representation that the Baptist in person ever baptized in Aenon at all, or did transfer his activities from south to north after the manner the same evangelist attributes to Jesus. The most that can be set down as a postulate likely to be granted by all schools of criticism and interpretation is, (1) that about 100 A. D. there was a place known as "Aenon near to Sâlim," where there were "many waters," (2) that the locality at that period was probably a seat of the sect who still adhered to the Baptist, and (3) that it was then regarded, whether justly or unjustly, as one of the baptizing places of John himself. Can we identify the spot our Fourth Evangelist intends?

To the present writer it has seemed somewhat significant that such geographical acquaintance with Palestine as our Fourth Evangelist displays is confined to Jerusalem and a series of localities on the great high-road northward to the upper end of the Sea of Galilee, a route still marked by frequent traces of the old Roman highway. Even "Bethany beyond Jordan" is not an exception. Of course if we read "Bethabara," with the later manuscripts, the spot will lie almost directly on this route where it debouches from the hills of Samaria into the broad rolling plain of the Jordan, southeast of Beisan. But even if, with the better authorities, we read "Bethany," and locate the spot in Peraea, the rule remains; for the evangelist displays no personal acquaintance with this locality. On the contrary it may well be that there never was a place of just this name in Peraea, and that the difficulties surrounding it are due only to the Fourth Evangelist's confusion of the "Bethany" which he knows from the Synoptists as "near Jerusalem" with "the village of Martha and Mary" which he knows from Luke 10: 38-42 to have been in Peraea. At least the transition in John 11:1 from one Bethany to the other, one in the region where Jesus is entertained by Martha and Mary, the other "the village of Mary and her sister Martha" where Jesus is again the guest of honor, has points of curious coincidence.

In the remaining cases, where acquaintance is really shown with features of the country, it is always such as might be easily obtained after the destruction of Jerusalem in 70 A.D. The places and objects are uniformly such as might still be shown undisturbed by the disasters

of the great war, and especially such as would be most apt to be pointed out to a traveler interested in biblical story and confined, save for slight deviations, to the great northward highway.

In Jerusalem, ruined as it was, one could still see traces of "the treasury" and "Solomon's porch" in the temple area. One could also see, no doubt, the locality at least of the "house of Caiaphas" and "the praetorium." The "pavement called Gabbatha" where Pilate's judgment seat had been set up was surely not undiscoverable, and it would be easy to identify the "Pool of Siloam" and the "Pool of Bethesda" with its "five colonnades.3 Pools and pavements survive even the worst ravages of siege and fire. As subsequent history has shown, however, the superstitious tales attaching to pools are easily transferred. We need not be surprised, then, if in the period of the Fourth Gospel the tradition about the healing angel troubling the waters had already become attached to the pool by the sheep (gate?) instead of Gihon or Siloam with their intermittent flow. The "brook Kidron," the "garden" beyond it, Bethany "about fifteen furlongs from Jerusalem," its "cave with a stone laid against it" from which the dead had come forth at Jesus' command, Golgotha, the "place called the place of a skull," and the garden tomb in a place "nigh at hand" where "visions of angels" had pointed to the visible tokens of the resurrection—these are all localities such as could be pointed out after the great war, and such as visiting Christians would wish to be shown. Who can believe that the church which, as Eusebius tells us, "gathered again to Jerusalem from all directions"4 after the destruction of the city by Titus, would not point out all these sacred spots to the believing traveler?

But when the scenes of Jerusalem are left behind for those of Galilee, our evangelist seems to have no thought of the historic road by Jericho. His idea seems to be that going from Judaea to Galilee one "must needs pass through Samaria." The expression is natural after

³ Advocates of a date for the Fourth Gospel not only earlier by a full generation than the utmost demands of ancient tradition, but earlier even than the Synoptic Gospels, have pointed to the present tense of the verb in John 5:2: "Now there is in Jerusalem a pool by the sheep (gate?)." The phenomenon is really noteworthy. Only the inference that the destruction by Titus had not yet occurred is incorrect. The pool is there now, and is still shown.

⁴ H. E. III, xi, 1.

the old quarrels which formerly had made Samaria forbidden ground to the Jew (Matt. 10:5) had been quelled by Roman power; it is harder to explain in a contemporary.

The Galilean places whose situation is actually known to our evangelist are "Cana," the city of Nathaniel (both names peculiar to the Fourth Gospel and playing an important part in it)—"Cana" from which one passes "down" to "Capernaum" on the shore of the lake, "Capernaum" whence boats ply "unto Tiberias," nigh unto "the place where they did eat the bread after the Lord had given thanks," and "Bethsaida, the city of Andrew and Philip." These are in fact the only Galilean place-names save Nazareth of which he makes mention at all. And these all are on the beaten track of pilgrimage to this day. But to return to Jerusalem, for it is from Jerusalem our traveler will have taken his departure, if, as we conjecture, he aimed to visit the scenes of Galilee and Judaea already sacred to gospel story. One passes then first, far on the right, the "city called Ephraim, in the country near to the wilderness," perhaps Et-Tayyibeh. It was already distinguished by the tradition of a stay of Jesus there. Next one comes to localities made sacred by Old Testament story, "the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to his son Joseph," the splendid, fruitful plain at the foot of Gerizim, "this mountain" where the Samaritans were still worshiping and their fathers had worshiped before them; though in our evangelist's time great inroads had been made upon the ancestral faith, first by Simon Magus, a reputed disciple of John the Baptist, and later by Philip, the Hellenistic evangelist. The high-road does not enter "the city of the Samaritans," Flavia Neapolis, for that lies off to the west, in the pass between Gerizim and Ebal, on the road to Caesarea. If one is going to Galilee one remains below on the plain, skirting the eastern foot of Ebal. "Now Jacob's well was there" with its low curb and "deep" waters below, inviting the weary traveler to noontide rest, perhaps to a meal procured from the "city" just over the ridge, or perhaps from the "city" Sychar. This is usually identified with the modern Askar, a village close by nestling at the foot of Ebal, northward, on the road itself, but not a stopping place for travelers who would take their noonday meal at the well.

There, too, less than an hour's walk to the eastward⁵ across the sloping plain, and plainly visible from the heights, is Sâlim, another

Old Testament site—at least for those who read the Greek Bible which told how Jacob, coming with his flocks and herds from Succoth, in the Jordan valley, on his way to Shechem (Nablous) "came to Salem, a city of the Shechemites," and bought the famous "parcel of ground." "In the Samaritan Chronicle it is called Salem the Great, and the Samaritans understand it to be mentioned in Gen. 33:18."

Here is the great cross-roads of Samaria. The direct road to Gilead crossing Jordan at the famous ford of Damieh (Adam, Jos. 3:16) marked today by the telegraph line from Nablous to Salt, passes near Sâlim to enter beyond by a steep descent the splendid valley Wady Beidân, whose stream, rising at Râs el-Fârcah, some two miles north of Sychar, is the principal affluent of the Jordan from the west. The direct road eastward thus cuts off the mountain mass of Neby Belân, which rises nearly two thousand feet above the plain, but the watershed follows the valley northeastward between Ebal and Neby Belân, and only turns to the southeast after it has skirted the foot of Neby Belân, and received the copious flow of the great springs of El-Fârcah.8

Here we must pause, for we have reached what has been called the greatest geographical puzzle of the New Testament. Where was "Aenon near to Sâlim"?

The northward road from the plain of Shechem follows the curving descent of the great valley just described, which starts between Ebal and Neby Belân. As one enters it, just after leaving Sychar, and

⁵ Two and one-half miles due east from Jacob's Well. The Palestine Exploration Fund *Memoirs* describe Sâlim as "a small village resembling the rest, but evidently ancient, having rock-cut tombs, cisterns, and a tank. Olive trees surround it; on the north are two springs about three-quarters of a mile from the village."

⁶ Gen 33:18 (LXX). In the *Onomasticon* Jerome employs this phrase from the Vulgate (which here agrees with the LXX) "Salem, civitas Sichimorum" to distinguish this place, which he identifies with Shechem itself, from two other Salems, one near Jerusalem, the other near Scythopolis.

⁷ Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs, II, 230. Gen. 33:18 is the passage above cited. In the Massoretic text which represents the Palestinian tradition, intensely hostile to Samaritan sacred sites, the single letter corresponding to the word "to" is suppressed, giving "came salem," which the R. V. (text) renders "came in peace."

⁸ The name contains, as G. A. Smith points out, the same radicals as the O. T. Pir^cathon (Judg. 12:13-15). He sees in "the name Tammûn, so common now at the head of the Wady Fâr^cah" the θαμναθα φαραθωνι of I Macc. 9:50."—Hist. Geogr., p. 355, n. 1.

at about an equal distance from Sâlim and Jacob's Well, one sees directly in front the bold outline of a Crusading tower, the Burj el-Fârcah, commanding the head of the rich valley which, formed here by the junction of two magnificent streams springing respectively from the northern and southern slopes of a low mountain promontory, slopes gradually down to the Jordan. This great gateway from the east into



BURJ EL-FARGAH FROM THE ROAD TO GASKAR

the heart of Samaria is known as the Wady Beidân. Its entrance was guarded in the days of the Herods from the incursion of the nomads not only by strong fortresses east of Jordan, but in the Jordan valley itself by the flourishing Greek towns of Phasaelis and Archelais. Its present appearance is well described by a modern traveler:

It is a narrow, deep valley, flanked by parallel mountain ranges, running at first due southeast, then more to the south, till it reaches the Ghôr. The distance from the northern headsprings at Burj el-Fâr ah to the Jordan, following the general line of its course, is about twenty miles. The stream itself is a slender thread banked by bluffs, steep, but grassy and not precipitous; at several points I judged

them one hundred feet high or more. Above them the valley expands to the width of from one to two miles. The opposite ridges of the two mountain ranges are stated by Conder to be about four miles apart. In this extensive tract, though fertile and well watered, there is not a single village. It is held by the Mesa'ayd, a tribe of nomadic Arabs.

The reason why there are no villages in the valley but only on the hillsides is not far to seek. As our traveler remarks,



BURJ EL-FARCAH FROM THE NORTHEAST

In biblical history this valley is known only as a thoroughfare. It was up this valley that Jacob drove his flocks and herds from Succoth to Salem near Shechem. It was along the banks of its stream that the "garments and vessels" of Benhadad were strewn as far as Jordan.¹⁰

The case is similar in the Jordan valley below. The open plain was too exposed to attack from Bedouin marauders. From the time that the defenses east of Jordan were broken down, when Archelais

⁹ Professor Wm. Arnold Stevens on "Aenon near to Sâlim" in the *Journal of Biblical Literature*, III (1883), 134.

¹⁰ Stevens, ibid., quoting Conder, Tent Work, I, 91.

and Phasaelis were abandoned, and even the Crusaders' Tower fell into ruin, villages have been compelled to retire to the more easily defended mountain heights. Such is the case with 'Ainûn, a ruined village, "apparently modern, standing on a small hillock" among the hills some five miles northeast of the springs of El-Fâr^cah. Its name ("Springs") is seemingly its only relic of antiquity and is singularly inappropriate to its present position "without a drop of water."12 But in the opinion of not a few its original location was such as its name implies, below in the rich valley, most probably at the very spot where the Ras el-Far'ah springs unite with those of the northern fork. Such a position would well befit "Aenon" where there were "many waters." And it would also be "near to Sâlim;" for Sâlim lies less than an hour's walk to the south, around the base of Nebv Belân. Well does the present writer recall tenting among the oleanders beside these "many waters;" but we cannot improve upon the description long since given by Professor W. A. Stevens, though it would seem unknown to recent geographers:

Wady Beidân at its beginning is a deep slit in the limestone strata between Ebal and Neby Belân; in the rainy season it drains the plain between Jacob's Well and Sâlim, but most of the year is a dry gully. Starting from the springs called Ras el-Farah, it is about two miles in length, running almost due east till it joins the northern branch of the Fârsah. The writer's entrance into the valley was from the village of Askar, where he had encamped the previous day, April 20. The path follows nearly the ancient road to Damascus, via Scythopolis and Gadara. It skirts the base of Mount Ebal, a little above the level of the plain of Salim, and, in the course of half an hour's riding, descends rapidly alongside of the gully. Our guide, a man from Askar, called the gully Wady Ibrîd. It is the southernmost branchlet of the Wady Beidân, which latter name the men of whom we made inquiry applied only to the lower portion, where the water supply is perennial. In less than an hour after leaving Ain Askar we are at Ain es Subrân, the southernmost of the large springs that feed the Fârcah. Turning now a little to the left, in a few minutes more we descend abruptly into another ravine, at the foot of the Mt. Ebal group. Here we are at the proper beginning of the Wady Beidân-the Râs el-Fâr'ah springs, which feed with perennial abundance the southern fork of the Fârcah stream. Fountains are bursting forth from the rocks on either side, and a mountain brook is plunging downward in cascades and broken streams to the lower bed of the Wady. The road, instead of following the water-course, crosses it, and, continuing north-

¹¹ Palestine Exploration Fund Memoirs, II, 234.

¹² Robinson, Researches, III, 333.

ward toward Tûbâs, traverses the triangular terrace which separates the two branches of the Fârcah.

The description of the "rocky glen of fountains" which follows is beautiful in itself and well supports the claim that "no other spot in Palestine, south of the sources of the Jordan at Bânias or Tell el-Kâdy, so well deserves the name of 'The Springs.'" We can, however, do no more than transcribe a few of its data. The "numberless



WADY FARCAH, LOOKING DOWN TOWARD THE GHOR

springs within the space of half a mile" supply four overshot mills within a few rods of one another, besides others lower down, irrigate innumerable gardens, and fill many pools, in the largest of which near the upper end of the glen the water reached to the armpits. The springs of the northern branch are scarcely less copious than these.

Why, then, seeing there is no other place named Aenon in Palestine save Beit 'Ainûn near Hebron, "which has no very fine supply of water and no Salem near it," should we not regard the springs of El Fâr'ah as meeting the conditions above defined (p. 225)?

Those objections which to Professor Sanday in his Sacred Sites¹⁴ seem most formidable are based upon the assumption (already shown to be dubious) that the name ^cAinûn cannot have shifted its position from the valley to the hilltop on its northern slope.

cAinan is about seven miles as the crow flies from Sâlim, with two considerable ridges intervening; it would be much more by the track that does duty for a road; so that it would be strange if it were described as "near to Sâlim;" and strange also that ruins on the top of a hill should mark a spot where "there was much water." "Here is precisely the name Aenon; but unfortunately there is no Sâlim near, nor a drop of water," is Dr. Robinson's summary verdict.

The objection is sometimes reinforced by the suggestion that were Râs el-Fârcah the true Aenon, it would have been described as near to Flavia Neapolis or some important place, rather than "near to Sâlim." But our evangelist's interests are not those of the geographer, but of the antiquarian, or more strictly the pilgrim. It is not the big new cities of the gentiles which to him are important, but the "sacred sites," in particular those he had himself passed through. One need only survey his characterizations above (p. 226), "the place where they ate the loaves," "the parcel of ground which Jacob gave to Joseph," "the village of Mary and Martha," to see what sort of locality he would naturally refer to. Moreover, if our theory is correct, he had not even seen Neapolis, but had passed on over the straight road between 'Askar and Sâlim, both of which he does mention. If Aenon in his time was really at "The Springs" it was nearer to Sâlim than to any other place of note, and in plain sight from the road but a little way beyond Jacob's well. 15

Again it is said¹⁶ to be insupposable that John should have baptized in Samaria and particularly that this should have been the scene of his labors in the period just before his arrest. But this is not our supposition. It is on the contrary not only possible, but made

¹³ Conder, Tent Work, i, p. 92. The name 'Ainûn is justified here by the fact that "there are twelve small springs about Hebron" (G. A. Smith, Hist. Geogr., p. 78, note), a great rarity in Judah.

¹⁴ P. 34.

¹⁵ The objection raised by Professor T. K. Cheyne, cf. s.v. "Sâlim" in Enc. Bibl. "The distance of the springs from Sâlim (about seven miles), is rather against this identification," is based on misapprehension. The springs are not more than two miles from Sâlim.

independently probable by the representations of the Clementine writings, which make both the Samaritan arch-heretics, Dositheus and Simon Magus, disciples of John the Baptist, and by later traditions which make Samaria itself the place of John's burial, that the Johannine *movement* extended to Samaria, so that in about 100 A. D. those who baptized in the name of Jesus "in the country of Judaea" might well look askance at some in Samaria, who, like those whom Paul found in Ephesus," "knew only the baptism of John." Those in Samaria conversely who "baptized in Aenon near to Sâlim because there were many waters there," and doubtless held that John himself had done so, would be full of jealousy of him who had been "with John beyond Jordan" and was now "increasing" while they "decreased." ¹⁸

But we are told that

both Eusebius and Jerome expressly place Aenon and Sâlim in the Jordan valley eight Roman miles south of Scythopolis (*Beisân*), and the two sites were certainly shown here in the fourth century.¹⁹

Fortunately we have the contemporary description of a visit to these sites by the pilgrim Silvia. Her description explains just why this was so. The special object of interest at this locality in the Ghôr was a ruin designated "the palace of Melchizedek." Pilgrims to this spot were interested, it would seem, not primarily in New Testament sites, but in the story of Gen. 14, as elaborated in Ps. 110 and Heb. 7. This is apparent from Silvia's story. Nobody offered to show her the springs of Aenon, but "Remembering that St. John was said to have baptized in Aenon near to Sâlim she asked the presbyter in charge how far it was," and thereupon was shown "two hundred paces off" "a very pleasant orchard" called "the garden of St. John" with "a spring of water very good and pure which sent forth a full stream in one jet;" also "in front of the spring a sort of basin in which

¹⁶ So B. Weiss, Leben Jesu, Vol. II, p. 408, note. ¹⁷ Acts 19:1ff.

¹⁸ We cannot here undertake to interpret the dialogue at Jacob's Well, which in the Fourth Gospel takes the place of the Synoptic story of the Canaanitish woman to prove the wider outlook of Jesus. Luke alone takes a similar interest in Samaritan Christianity. But the whole scene with its allusions to Samaria's share in the great past of Israel, and its transparent references to a work of Jesus' disciples "entering into the labors" of these earlier sowers, a work more fruitful than on the thankless soil of Judaea, should be read in the light of Acts 8:4-25.

¹⁰ Sanday, Sacred Sites, p. 34.

it appeared that St. John had baptized." Obviously Silvia was not the first who after having been shown the "Salem" of which Melchizedek had been king²° had asked "And what about 'Aenon near to Sâlim?" And of course they were shown it. No rule is so absolute in that land of pilgrimage as the rule that the pilgrim must be shown what he asks for. Had it been possible to find a spring nearer than "two hundred paces off" the complaisance of local piety would surely have supplied it. But Silvia has no reason to complain that pilgrims are unduly inconvenienced when the holy presbyter conducts her "two hundred paces" down a delightful valley called the garden of St. John, where pious forethought had even supplied "a sort of basin, in which it appeared that St. John had baptized."

As Sir Charles Wilson has said, 21 the springs in the Jordan valley, about seven and a half miles south-southeast of Beisân called Umm. el-'Amdân mark "almost certainly the spot indicated by Eusebius and Ierome." It is even possible that the welv of Sheikh Sâlim on the mound Tell Ridhghah "three quarters of a mile to the north" may be a lingering ghost of the fourth-century tradition, which had identified the spot as "Aenon near to Sâlim," though the present writer's inquiries on the spot failed to elicit any name resembling either Aenon or Sâlim.²² But perhaps the most remarkable thing about the whole tradition is that even the inquiries of Silvia herself, with all their naïve appetite for pious identifications, failed to elicit the name Sâlim she was so desirous to find. "She was shown the city of Melchizedek, formerly called Salem, but then 'corruptly Sedima.'" So in the century of Eusebius, Jerome, and Silvia, when they were trying to identify this site as "Aenon near to Salem" they really had no trace of either one of the names in question, and were depending solely on a

²⁰ Gen. 14:18.

²¹ Smith's Dict. of the Bible, 2d ed., s.v. "Aenon."

²² Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique* for 1895, p. 503-10, reports ruins corresponding to Silvia's description of the basin and copious spring, at Umm el-Amdân (=Sedima?). He would regard Aenon (from the Aramaic 'ainawan = "springs") as a mere appellative of the group of springs, it having wholly disappeared as a name from this region. The names now attaching to the springs are El Fatûr, Ed-Deir (= "the monastery"), and El-Beda. The name Sâlim he would find in a conspicuous tell, four miles north of Umm el-Amdan, between it and Beisan, and nearer the latter. It bears the name Tell Sarem which might be a corruption of Salem. If this was the site of "Mechizedek's palace" Silvia's description is misleading.

ruin known to tradition as "the palace of Melchizedek," at a place known as *Sedima*, with some adjacent springs. Aenon has never been claimed in this region as a local name. Salem, so far as it has any local attachment, might be a mere creation of the fourth century A. D.

In reality any person who has visited this site uninfluenced by the fanciful identifications of the fourth-century shrine-builders, must realize the absurdity of locating at this spot "Aenon near to Sâlim, where John baptized because there were many waters there." The springs are mere rivulets, the best of which, in Silvia's day, had to be provided with "a sort of basin" to make it "appear" that St. John had baptized there. And a little over a mile away is the Jordan itself with its sweeping floods! Is it natural for a writer to explain that the reason John was baptizing in Aenon near to Salim was that "there were many waters there," if he referred to a group of seven springs "all lying within a radius of a quarter of a mile" none of which gives a stream even ankle-deep, while within a few minutes' walk is the broad deep flow of the Jordan itself? Any number of "basins" will not make the modern traveler who has visited the spot believe that if John ever did any baptizing in this region he did not do it, as the Synoptists say, "in the Jordan."

If then we may dismiss this fourth-century creation, in spite of its formidable list of modern advocates, there remains but one serious rival to the Samaritan claimant to the name "Aenon near to Sâlim." This, curiously enough, is another Fârcah, though with no adjacent cAinûn, and only a somewhat remote Wady Suleîm to represent the latter locality. 'Ain Fâr'ah in Benjamin is a wild gorge an hour's ride eastward of cAnâta (Anathoth) the birthplace of Jeremiah. Its perennial spring breaks out at the head of a deep cañon or gorge whose perpendicular sides have been for ages the abode of monastic cliffdwellers. In still remoter times Canaanitish rites will have been celebrated in this romantic mountain glen, for underneath the beetling precipice on the southern side of the cañon a huge bowlder, some 30 feet in height and diameter, fallen from the cliff into the stream below, has been rudely fashioned into the shape of a ziggurât, its upper, nearly horizontal surface containing two huge cup-holes side by side, each some 18 inches in diameter and some 12 deep. Further down, where the brawling stream widens into a tiny pool, a deep niche of Greek

pattern has been cut into the face of an over-hanging rock, reproducing on smaller and simpler scale the famous niches at the springs of Banias. 'Ain Fâr'ah is the ideal spot for such an anchorite as the Baptist—so long as he lived merely his hermit life and avoided the multitudes instead of baptizing them.

With some difficulty one or two of the pools might be enlarged or deepened enough to admit of the simultaneous baptism of two or three



CANAANITE ALTAR (?) WITH TWIN CUP-HOLES AT 'AIN FAR'AH

persons, but it is difficult to imagine great multitudes assembling in this narrow cañon; and as for the names "Aenon" and "Salem" there is no pretense that the former ever attached to this single stream, while the latter attaches not at all to this wady, but is vaguely connected with one of the gulleys some miles to the south on the eastward slope of the Mount of Olives. Possibly there may have been a Salem in New Testament times on the Mount of Olives, but to describe 'Ain Fâr'ah of Benjamin as "near to Salem," with Jerusalem itself scarcely

out of sight over the ridge, would be like describing Mount Vernon in Westchester County, N. Y., as "near Hoboken."

The fanciful attempt to connect Aenon near to Sâlim with 'Ain Kârim," the modern village close to Jerusalem on the southwest, which claims to be the birthplace of the Baptist, and has a good spring, not too copious, however, for a two-inch iron pipe at the village fountain, rests wholly upon the conjectural reading of $i\epsilon\rho\sigma\sigma\lambda\dot{\eta}\mu$ for $\tau\sigma\hat{\nu}$ $\sigma\alpha\lambda\dot{\eta}\mu$, and would not come into consideration at all but for the honored name of its distinguished author.

To sum up, we may well take pains to avoid the too sophomoric confidence of Macmillan's *Guide to Palestine*, so justly rebuked by Professor Sanday. This writer has managed to aggregate an unusual number of misstatements within the compass of the following two brief sentences:

On the north side of Wady Fârcah (? Beidan) stands an old (?) ruined site called cAinun, and undoubtedly marking the site (!) of Aenon, mentioned by St. John with Sâlim. Here then we have one of the few absolute certainties (!) of sacred spots in Palestine: and it was undoubtedly at these headwaters of the Wady Fârcah that the Baptist was exercising his functions when he was taken prisoner by Herod Antipas.

Herod Antipas would have invited more gratuitous trouble than was apt to be sought by "that fox" if he had attempted to make prisoner of John, amid a multitude gathered in the heart of Samaria, in the jurisdiction of his arch-enemy Pilate. It is difficult enough to admit that John ever entered Samaria at all, though we will not assert it to be impossible. What does seem reasonable to assert with some positiveness is that the absence of the two names Aenon and Sâlim from any other region of Palestine, and their occurrence here in reasonable proximity, in a region marked in high degree by the physical conditions required by the narrative, ought to determine for us the probable intention of the Fourth Evangelist. They should lead us to consider, pending further investigation, that at his time of writing the upper waters of the Wady Beidân were a resort of members of the Johannine sect, and were then regarded as having served the Baptist himself as a place for baptizing.

²³ Enc. Bibl., s.v. "Salim."

THE BIBLICAL DOCTRINE OF THE HOLY SPIRIT AND PRESENT RELIGIOUS LIFE

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The doctrine of the Holy Spirit has suffered much from vagueness. Popularly it has been used freely in connection with certain forms of emotional religion which have not appealed strongly to the most thoughtful people. Classic theology has not been much more definite than popular religious thought. The doctrine has not received the critical discussion which has brought clear definition to so many other doctrines.

Two elements seem usually to enter into the present conception of the Holy Spirit:

- a) General. The Spirit is God acting in the heart of man. It is a name for "God himself, in vital contact and communication with the spirits of men whom he has made." The Spirit is "the immanent life of God in man." In popular use this reference is extended beyond the Christian life, and made to include all such providential guidance of all men as leads them toward a higher ethical and religious life.
- b) Special. The Spirit is regarded as the divine originator of special graces, of a "higher Christian life," of a peculiar richness of devotional feeling, of particular powers of Christian activity. This is less the case in the formal writings of theological teachers than in the popular literature of religious life, which, however, exercises much more influence in the general religious world than do the formal works on theology.

Each of these two forms is based on biblical representations of the work of the Spirit. The first conception is Pauline. It marks the final stage of biblical thought regarding the Spirit. Paul came to consider, not merely particular experiences, but all the Christian life, as under the guidance of the Spirit. The logical order of his thoughts seems to be this: All experiences which make for the advancement

¹ Clarke, Outline of Christian Theology, p. 372.

² Brown, Christian Theology in Outline, p. 399.

of the messianic kingdom are the result of the work of the Spirit. But the Christian life is a unity. Its experiences cannot be divided and set over against each other, some religious and some non-religious. "All things, whatsoever ye do" make for the growth of the messianic kingdom. All the life, then, must be under the control of the Spirit.³

The conception of the Spirit as the author of special experiences which betoken the peculiar presence of God is what may properly be called the primitive conception of the Spirit. It is found in the earliest traces of the idea, in the stories of the judges and of the carly kings.⁴ It is true that in these writings not merely is the idea of the Spirit primitive, but the conception of the way in which the Spirit becomes manifest is crude. His presence is known by physical results. Gradually this conception becomes spiritualized. Religious emotions as well as physical effects count as evidences of the possession of the Spirit. Wisdom as well as strength marks it. But all the time the elemental conception remains the same; the Spirit is the power of God working in man on special occasions for particular gifts.

This idea comes down into the New Testament period. It is the idea found in Christ's teachings as recorded in the Synoptics, in the records of Acts and in the Pauline writings by the side of the perfected Pauline idea itself. It underlies the conception of the Spirit in prophecy, in such experiences as the "gift of tongues," in the working of miracles, and in all the particular "gifts." Translated into the terms of modern Christianity, it furnishes a sufficiently solid basis for the popular preacher and writer of the semi-mystical type who urges men to be filled with the Spirit, that they may possess a divine power which is beyond human possibility of attainment. However imperfect in conception, vague in expression, or censorious in estimate of others those emphasizing this idea of the Spirit's activity have sometimes been, it must be acknowledged that they have a biblical basis for their interpretation.

But it is not sufficient for Christian thought to find a biblical basis, especially in any subject upon which there was variety and growth of conception during the biblical period. The judgment must exercise

³ For a fuller discussion of the biblical conceptions the writer may be permitted to refer to his *The Spirit of God in Biblical Literature*, published by Armstrong, 1904.

⁴ Pentateuchal references to the Spirit all belong to the late writings.

a natural selection upon biblical thought. The problem is to find what is the highest and most advanced of the various biblical presentations of a subject, and to build upon that rather than upon what belongs to cruder and earlier stages of thought. We exercise this selective process consciously and without hesitation regarding such subjects as the doctrines of immortality, of the person of Christ, of sin and holiness. It is reasonable that we should do the same regarding the conception of the Spirit. The Christian idea of the Spirit should not be based upon the primitive biblical conception of temporary gifts, but upon the Pauline idea of the Spirit as the basis of an abiding character. The fact that the primitive conception is most prominent and is found in the greater part of the literature is not determinative. It is in essence the thought of the early Hebrew people and comes down into the New Testament period without criticism. It is built upon the common crude early dualistic idea of the relation of God to the world. The Pauline idea is more logical, and fits into the growing Christian conception of the relation of God and the world much better. One does not see that advancing thought can outgrow it. It seems to be, so far as its fundamental conception is concerned, the final form of the doctrine. Can there be any doubt which of these two ideas ought to be the basis of the Christian doctrine of the Spirit?

Let us try to express the Pauline idea of the Spirit in terms of modern life. To Paul it was, not merely the power of God, but God himself in the life of the Christian, molding and guiding it. This was no figure of speech to him, but an actual divine indwelling. It was his answer to current dualism, his way of bringing God to earth. To be properly understood, it ought to be placed in connection with the Gnostic and neo-Platonic conceptions of God. This was its philosophic aspect. It showed how God and man could come into actual relations. · We find it easy to translate this phase of the doctrine into modern life. It is a section of the conception of the immanence of God. The problem of transcendence—real transcendence, not the imitation to which the word is often applied—does not trouble us now. The transcendent God of the ancient world was absolutely apart from the world. To us, God is, by his very nature as God, in contact with the world. Now God in contact with the world of Christian men may properly be called the Holy Spirit. That is the Pauline meaning of the

term. The Holy Spirit is the Divine life living itself out in the life of the believer. It is God considered pragmatically with regard to man.

One has but to state such a conception to perceive its great value for the present or for any other time. It depends upon no single conception of God's relation to the rest of the world. It depends upon no philosophical school but is harmonious with many schools. It becomes not only a philosophic concept, but a living experience. It is a great thing for a man to believe that the living God is in him. It is the greatest belief to which he can come. It lifts his life into a dignity and a sanctity which removes it from the realms of commonplace. It makes his own heart the most sacred place he can enter, his own work the most holy sacrament in which he can ever take part.

Two questions arise out of the modern interpretation of this doctrine. One is, How shall it be limited in application? The other is, How can it be verified in experience?

The Pauline doctrine was strictly limited. Only those who are helping forward the messianic kingdom are guided by the Spirit. Paul seems to have thought of this as limited, in his own generation, to the Christian church. In the past the Spirit had been in the hearts of Jews, but now that the Messiah had come, only those who believed in him were given this divine indwelling. As to the Gentile world, that lay always beyond the action of the Spirit. Whether or not he thought of God as providentially guiding the course of Gentile history, he certainly did not conceive of the Holy Spirit as dwelling in the hearts of Gentiles. The reason is plain. They were not advancing the kingdom of God.

Right or wrong, the present conception of the religious value of the world of extra-Christian history is radically different from the Pauline. To us, it has been advancing, however indirectly and with however great errors, the kingdom of God. In fact, as we look back over Christian history, certain elements of it seem to us to be farther removed from the kingdom of God than many things in the pagan world. If we look at individuals, too, we often discover clear purposes of right, great desire to serve the living God, in those who are outside the Christian faith. Remember that I am not striking averages, but speaking of individuals. No thoughtful person who has lived in a pagan community would say that the average of righteous purpose

and accomplishment is anywhere near as high there as in the Christian church. But the fact remains that we at present affirm without hesitation that God may be in the hearts of many men outside the Christian church, and even beyond the knowledge of Christianity. Shall we call God in their hearts the Holy Spirit? It would seem that, consistently with our own thought, we must; for we hold, as Paul did not, that they also have advanced the kingdom of God; and God in the hearts of men, advancing his kingdom, is the Spirit. Let us recognize, however, that it is an expansion of the Pauline doctrine. Let us see clearly why we are led to it; that we keep the Pauline definition of the Spirit, but, expanding his premises of the Spirit's working, must necessarily expand his conclusion.

I need not say how this lifts the whole non-Christian world in dignity and sacredness, and makes a unity out of the seemingly heterogeneous elements of history. Nor is it necessary to say that this does not minimize the tragedy of the enmity to right and the hindrances to the development of God's kingdom with which the pagan world is filled. Rather it makes the tragedy greater, for they are no longer thought of as in a part of the world which by right belongs to the devil, but rather which might have been filled with men in whom the Spirit of God might abide, even if the story of Christ were unknown to them.

It ought to be added that the biblical writers themselves had glimpses of this enlarged view of the realm of God's action, though never giving to it the name of the Spirit. Such infrequent passages as Rom. 1:19, "That which may be known of God is manifest in them;" Acts 14:17, "He left not himself without witness;" John 1:9, "The true light which lighteth every man coming into the world" (if "coming" modifies "every man") only find their logical conclusion in a widened doctrine of the Holy Spirit.

Shall the doctrine be expanded still further? May we properly speak of the Spirit of God in the external world? Is the Spirit of God immanent in the world of nature, as well as in the world of man?

This is a question of definition. To the modern Christian thinker of any school, God is in the world of nature in some very real way. May we, with proper deference to the historical and logical use of terms, name this presence of God in nature the Spirit of God? At

one stage in the Hebrew history of the term it was undoubtedly so used. In a few post-exilic passages written at a time when the Spirit was no longer used to explain the experiences of living men, it is applied to God's action in nature outside of man. This was the more easily done because life, whether in man or beast, was then conceived to be the result of the Spirit of God (Ps. 104:30). From living things to the orderly cosmos was not a great step and for a time Hebrew thought was not unwilling to use the Spirit as meaning God acting in inanimate nature (see Job 26:13; Gen. 1:2). But the use was an aberration and had already disappeared before the New Testament time. The main line of historic biblical usage keeps the Spirit for a name of God when acting on the hearts of men, for that personal relation where

Spirit with spirit shall meet.

It seems well to keep to this usage. Certainly nothing else will satisfy the New Testament sense of the word. It is fitting, also, that some specific term should be set apart for that personal relation, that intimate fellowship of like with like which, so far as we know, is possible in this universe only between persons—it is fitting that such a term should be set apart for use only concerning God in fellowship with man. That fellowship is so unique that it calls for a unique term to express it. Considerations of history and of fitness, then, both demand that the Spirit should not be used of God's action outside of man himself. Careful writers usually observe this usage, as in the definitions of the Spirit quoted above.

How can the presence of the Spirit of God be verified in experience? It will clarify our thought if we ask the synonymous question, How can the presence of God in the life be verified by experience?

Speaking broadly, the ancient world and the modern world answer this question differently. The answer of the ancient world lay in the realm of emotion and its visible results. The ecstasy of the Bacchic initiate, the vision of the prophet, the wild frenzy of the medicine man, were in the various religions prime proof of the presence of God in man. To the man himself, the emotion was sufficient. To the spectator, an objective appeal was made in the word from God, the oracle or prediction which seemed beyond the power of man to produce, the state of trance, the seemingly miraculous deed. Most reli-

gions offer these proofs of the possession of man by a god. In Israel, these feelings and experiences were the basis of the Hebrew idea of the Spirit of God.

In general, the modern Christian world, except when still under the influence of the ancient Hebrew idea, verifies the presence of God in a different way. It refuses to give the dominant influence in the answer to emotion, especially to emotion of the stormy, ecstatic variety. It rests primarily upon faith. God has said that he would be with those who "put their trust in him." God accepts the gift of a soul. He who has willed to give himself to God may then believe that God is present with him. To the man who rests in this faith in God's presence there will ordinarily come a confidence and security, a sense of deep and abiding peace, as the natural and normal result. Still, while normal, this calm emotion is not universal, and its lack is no proof of the absence of God. Lastly, and of least importance, great and tempestuous emotions, with or without mental and physical issues, sometimes sweep through the soul which have, or, what is the same thing to the person experiencing them, seem to have their basis in the sense of the presence of God. This is the exact correlative of the ancient experience which was regarded as proof of the divine presence; only the modern world, instead of making it first of all, makes it last of all. But great emotions are so commanding in life that it is no wonder persons who have experienced them often regard them as the most important proofs of the presence of God. Especially is this liable to be so when the emotion issues in some more objective experience like a trance, a vision, or heightened physical powers which seem to be more than human. Under those circumstances it is not uncommon for the subject of the experience, however modern his usual point of view, to slip back, without question or hesitation, to the religious standpoint of the ancient world.5

What has been said above will apply with equal force to the proof of the presence of the Spirit of God, for that is only another name for the presence of God himself. The ancient sense has so dominated the meaning of the Spirit, so committed it to the notion of the unusual

⁵ James's Varieties of Religious Experience furnishes an interesting museum of curiosities in this class of extreme emotional experiences. The humorist must have had these in mind when he rechristened the book "Wild Religions I Have Known."

and abnormal in experience, that we can deal more easily with the term "God in man" than with the synonymous term, the "Spirit of God." The presence of the Spirit is not verified by emotion nor by any unusual experiences. It is, to the person himself, an inference from his faith in God. A strong faith calls for no verification. To others, the verification stands, where it stood for Paul, upon the "fruits of the Spirit"—the life of helpful holiness. Any emotion which accompanies the experience is secondary and incidental.

The question is often asked, Do we have the experiences which the Hebrews and the early church ascribed to the Spirit? What was said above implies that experiences at least kindred are not unknown. The same great emotions, the same sense of being borne out of one's self, the same ecstatic uplift, which was in ancient life, is known in life today. As we read the records of early religions we find nothing of this kind totally unintelligible to us. One may suspect that examples of this experience are less common now than then. Modern civilization tends to repress emotion. Modern soldiers, for example, do not weep as easily as the warriors of the *Iliad*. But, after all, even in the ancient world, as in the less restrained portions of the world today, such emotions were perhaps less common than we suppose. They were always so uncommon that they seemed superhuman. Taking into account the tendency of our civilization to repression, the physical and mental occurrences which the Hebrew and early Christian world ascribed to the Spirit are relatively common. Only, we explain them differently. The trance, the ecstatic vision, the sudden healing, the emotional uncontrolled utterance which the early church called "speaking with tongues" (compare the "power" in revivals of the last century), none of these lie wholly outside our experience. Instead of assigning them to the immediate action of the Spirit, however, we call in the physician and the psychologist, and demand an explanation; and, in the main, we get it. Does this mark us as less religious? No, but as more scientific. Whether we are less religious or not depends, not upon whether we ascribe fewer events to the direct action of God, but upon whether we strive less earnestly to fulfil his will as we understand it. Undoubtedly the range of particular events which can be ascribed to the Spirit of God has been narrowed by scientific thought. The Spirit is God acting directly upon the heart

of man, and some of the events formerly ascribed to the Spirit seem to be the result of God's indirect action upon nature. In the exact use of terms, we cannot longer assign them to the Spirit. But that does not secularize them and remove them from the range of God's activity. It is only taking from one pocket to put into another, denying to God under one definition what is given to him under another.

But, after all, these particular experiences and events belong to the primitive conception of the work of the Spirit. The Pauline conception stands untouched. God himself is the foundation of the Christian character, the source of all holiness and purity. This idea is not dependent upon the explanation of trances, visions, and drugless cures. The Pauline conception is the salvation of the doctrine of the Spirit of God in the conditions of modern thought. Without the Pauline conception the doctrine would find a very small application in present life.

There are those who fear that the conception of the Spirit may lose its personal element, and become merely a name for the influence of God. This fear seems groundless. The definitions quoted above, and others which might be given, emphasize personality. The Spirit is only a name for God acting in man. Since God is personal, of course the Spirit of God is personal. But these definitions undoubtedly leave small room for certain metaphysical elements which are at least popularly supposed to be in the older theology. The personality of the Spirit has been commonly supposed to mean not merely that the Spirit possesses personality, but that he possesses a different person (not personality) from God the Father. Now "person" has always been an attenuated term in theology. We recall Augustine's saving that "we say 'three persons,' not that it may be so said, but that we may not keep silence." Nevertheless when it becomes so attenuated that God acting in the external world is called one person, and God acting in the hearts of men another, it would seem that the term is approaching the vanishing point of meaning. The Trinity in historic theology was not a mere economic Trinity, but signified some internal difference in the Godhead, however vaguely conceived. For such internal difference it is hard to discover any ground in the modern trend of thought about the Spirit. The fact is, the classic doctrine of the Trinity grew up in attempts to explain the relation of the historic person

of Jesus Christ to God, and the place of the Spirit in the Trinity was an inference from the theories about Christ. It was never thoroughly discussed or subjected to critical examination. "Person" cannot mean quite the same as applied to the Spirit and to Christ. Even in somewhat conservative circles this is recognized. As Professor Denney says of the New Testament usage, "Certainly the Spirit is not so unmistakably thought of as a person as is the Father or the Son."6 To be frank, modern theology often saves its orthodoxy on this subject by retreating into agnosticism, and saying that we know nothing about the internal relations of the Trinity. That is very true; and modern theology has learned not to dogmatize outside of experience. We use old words with modified meanings in theology as we do elsewhere; but we ought frankly and unhesitatingly to recognize that the personality of the Holy Spirit cannot mean today what it is popularly supposed to have meant in older theology.⁷ That is no reason for the condemnation of the present thought. The religious value of the concept is not changed, only the most recondite phase of its metaphysical significance.

What is its religious value? What does the doctrine of the Holy Spirit mean for Christian life of the present day? It means, in a very real sense, the presence and power of God in the Christian life. It puts man, in the matter of God's relation to him, on a different footing from the rest of nature. It furnishes an inspiration to struggling faith and a promise of victory in the midst of strife; for what can fight against God? It makes a rational substitute for mysticism. It lifts man into a fellowship with God which does not depend upon the extraordinary or the occasional for its proof, but upon a reasoned faith. It does not dispense with mystery; all personality has mystery; and the Spirit is the personality of God acting directly on the personality of man; but its mystery is not unnatural and repulsive to reason. It is a part of the mystery of the immanence of God. Its value, however, lies not in its mystery, but in its power to help. loftiest expression that any religion has yet found of that fellowship with the highest which all religions seek.

⁶ Art. "Holy Spirit," Dictionary of Christ and the Gospels.

⁷ I say "is popularly supposed to have meant" because I surmise, from the study I have been able to give to the subject, that it is not always easy to tell what the older theologians did mean by the personality of the Spirit.

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE BIBLE

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II. IN THE HISTORICAL BOOKS OF THE OLD TESTAMENT

Difficulties of many kinds beset the attempt to exhibit the piety of ancient Israel on the basis of the historical books of the Old Testament. The memoirs of Ezra and Nehemiah constitute practically the only autobiographical material we have; consequently the glimpses that we get into the hearts of the actors in the great drama of Hebrew history are for the most part few and indirect. Again, though biography forms a relatively large proportion of the historical literature, in the main it is the story of the nation that is told in its pages—the rise, the progress, the decline, the fall of the nation, and its reconstitution as an ecclesiastical community; and naturally the men whose life-stories are told, are revealed rather in their public relationships and duties than in the intimacies of their private and personal religious life. We know a good deal, for example, of Josiah the reformer, but very little of Josiah the man.

For the earlier period the case is further complicated by the prominence, in the historical narrative, of theophanies and similarly primitive expressions of religious feeling. The appearance of divine messengers to Abraham and Lot, and of an angel to Hagar by a fountain of water, the ladder at Bethel upon which angels ascended and descended, the "man" who wrestled with Jacob in the lonely night, the voice that spoke to Moses from the bush that burned and was not consumed—these and a score of similar phenomena belong rather to the world of religious imagination than of historic fact, and cannot properly be used, as they have often been, to prove the unique intimacy of the patriarchs with God. And when we come down to times that may without challenge be described as historical we find that phrases which to us suggest communion with God can only be historically explained in a way which goes far to rob them of the spiritual suggestiveness which we are apt to associate with them. When we read,

for example, that David (I Sam. 23:2) or Saul (I Sam. 14:37), on critical occasions, sought to ascertain the will of God, it is not to prayer that they resort, but to the oracle; it is the priest with his ephod (I Sam. 14:18, LXX), Urim (I Sam. 28:6) and Thummim (I Sam. 14:41, LXX) that they consult.

At the same time, it must not be forgotten that even those primitive and mechanical expressions of religious feeling are not incompatible with a real spiritual communion. The David who consults the priestly oracle is the David who, in moments of darkness and sorrow, finds his refuge in God. Undoubtedly the historical David was a man of prayer. When, in an early stage of his career, the people spoke of stoning him, "David strengthened himself in Jehovah his God" (I Sam. 30:6). The dark hours of Absalom's rebellion are brightened for him by his faith in God (II Sam. 16:12); into his hands he commits his case, and his stern discipline he meekly accepts (II Sam. 16:10; 15:25 f.).

Again, it seems altogether probable that the spiritual implications of the early patriarchal stories have frequently been underestimated. Theophanies may not be historical, but it does not follow that they therefore mean nothing. Do not their bold and picturesque imaginations point to a real fellowship between man and his God, vaguely apprehended it may be, impossible of definition or explanation, but real and vital to the soul that, in the presence of certain natural phenomena or spiritual experiences, felt herself to stand before a Mystery, a Person—felt that that Person was speaking to her, and that she could commune with him? The Bible is crowded with dialogue the speech of God to man and man to God: and can we suppose that all this is just a pretty fiction? It is impossible to believe this when we remember that the speech of God to man is not confined to the Mosaic or pre-Mosaic period, but occurs also in the books of Samuel and Kings, in Isaiah, Jeremiah, and Ezekiel, and even in the New Testament. When we read that Jehovah spoke to Moses face to face, as a man speaks to his friend (Exod. 33:11; cf. Num. 12:8) even although the anthropomorphism is softened, almost corrected, in the same chapter (33:20 ff.; cf. Deut. 4:12)—we must surely suppose that behind such a pictorial expression lies some great spiritual reality. We do not dispose of it by simply saying that it is naïve. It is the

ancient man's way of expressing his sense of a great and good man's communion with God. Indeed, this must have been the interpretation put upon such narratives by the later priestly school which incorporated those writings among their own—a school whose theology was as austere and unromantic as our own. (Contrast the severity of Gen., chap. 1, with the poetry and anthropomorphisms of Gen., chaps. 2 and 3.)

Old Testament piety may be summarily described as the fear of God, or more pictorially, as a walk with God. This latter phrase, however-used of Enoch and Noah-seems to point to some high and unique dignity, and the piety of ordinary mortals is usually characterized as a walk before God. Life is consciously lived in his presence. Devout men are those who "fear Jehovah, walk in his ways, love and serve him with all the heart and with all the soul" (Deut. 10:12; cf. I Kings 8:23), who "walk before him in truth and with a perfect heart, and do that which is good in his sight" (II Kings 20:3). The supreme religious act and attitude is trust (Gen. 15:6); this is the condition of security and prosperity (II Chron. 20:20; cf. Isa. 7:9). There is something very charming about the simple piety of the earlier stories: as when, for example, Abraham's servant "looked steadfastly on Rebekah, holding his peace, to know whether Jehovah had made his journey prosperous or not" (Gen. 24:21)—there is a whole world of religious significance in that earnest gaze—or when Laban and Bethuel, smitten by the wonder of the whole episode, acknowledge: "The thing proceedeth from Jehovah; we cannot speak unto thee bad or good" (Gen. 24:50).

Life is pervaded by a sense of the presence of God: he is the "Shepherd" of all the good man's days (Gen. 48:15)—he goes with him, and never fails or forsakes him (Deut. 31:8). In some lives this haunting sense of the presence and providence of God is peculiarly conspicuous. Take, for example, the story of Joseph. He recognizes that his God can inspire him with the power to interpret Pharaoh's dreams. He acknowledges repeatedly and emphatically the gracious providence that has shaped his mysterious career and brought him through persecution, calumny, and imprisonment to his seat beside the king with its immeasurable opportunity for doing good. "It was not you that sent me to Egypt," he says to his brothers, "but

God. You meant evil against me, but God meant it for good" (Gen. 45:5, 7, 8; 50:20). This sense of a providence, of a divine care which watches sleeplessly over the fortunes of the individual and of the nation, is one of the most precious things in the Old Testament. and it appears very early. In both the Jehovist (Gen. 12:1) and the Elohist (20:13) narratives, Abraham's westward "wanderings" are interpreted as due to a divine impulse. It was not accident, but the voice of God that called him. This same Abraham assures his servant, about to set out on his quest for a wife for Isaac, that God will send his angel before him and prosper his way (Gen. 24:7, 40). For our purpose, the age and historicity of these narratives are quite immaterial; they are, in any case, a testimony to the writer's overwhelming faith in a providence that guides and guards the careers of those that are dear to it. It is the same thought that Deuteronomy so persistently reiterates, in its review of the national past (cf. Hos. 11:1 ff.): "He led thee through the great and terrible wilderness, brought thee forth water out of the rock of flint, and fed thee in the wilderness with manna" (Deut. 8:15 f.). Such a God deserves to be trusted; but more, he deserves to be loved, and the duty of love to God is urged by Deuteronomy, with noble earnestness (6:5; 11:1, etc.). Indeed, it is not so much a duty as the natural human response to the infinite and undeserved (9:5) love of God.

This communion with God, which in one aspect is the fear of him, in another trust in him and the love of him, was sustained in ways both public and private—by public worship and private prayer. We gather from the question put to the Shunammite by her husband that it was the custom to visit the prophet, no doubt for religious instruction and inspiration, on the new moon and sabbath (II Kings 4:23). If the prophet was, as he must occasionally have been, a man of the stamp of the great literary prophets, however inferior he might be to them in ability, souls must have been helped and stimulated by such a meeting. The more formal worship of the country sanctuaries, and later at the temple, though exposed to abuses of many and shameful kinds, must have helped to keep alive and bright in many a heart the sense of the goodness of God, manifest alike in the gifts of nature and in the wonders of their national past, with which the festivals were, at least in later times, connected. The religion encouraged by these festivals was, at any rate in the pre-exilic period, a glad religion:

"There ye shall eat before Jehovah your God, and ye shall rejoice in all that ye put your hand to, ye and your households" (Deut. 12:7).

But the Old Testament knows very well that that communion, which finds its public and formal expression in the worship of the sanctuary, may be gravely imperiled by prosperity, and altogether destroyed by luxury. Many and earnest are the warnings against forgetting Jehovah; and this temptation, it is seen, is one that is peculiarly apt to come upon men who "have eaten and are full, who have built goodly houses and dwelt therein, whose herds and flocks and silver and gold are multiplied" (Deut. 8:12 f.). Then it is that the heart is apt to be lifted up, "and thou forget Jehovah thy God who led thee through the great and terrible wilderness" (8:14 f.; cf. 31:20). It was when Jeshurun waxed fat, grew thick, and sleek, that he forsook the God who made him and lightly esteemed the rock of his salvation (32:15). Here is surely a profound interpretation of the power of prosperity to drive God out of human life, and to disturb that communion which it ought to confirm. For prosperity, although always a menace to the spiritual life, is not necessarily a curse: it only becomes so, if it tempts a man to think or say, "My own power and the might of my own hand hath gotten me this wealth" (8:17; cf. Amos 6:13). But he who remembers that "it is Jehovah thy God that giveth thee power to get wealth" (Deut. 8:18) may continue in happy communion with his God.

Just as prosperity may lead to forgetfulness of God, so distress may drive men to him, or deepen in them a sense of his reality (cf. Judges 3:9). Face to face with perplexity or danger, the appeal to God was natural, and, to an ancient Hebrew, inevitable. Jacob, for example, on his return to his own land, anticipating danger from the brother he had wronged, earnestly prays to be delivered from his hand (Gen. 32:11). Moses, vexed by the murmurs of the people for water, turns and appeals to his God (Exod. 17:4), just as David strengthens himself in his God when the people propose to stone him (I Sam. 30:6). Of peculiar interest is the case of Hezekiah who, thrown into consternation by the menace of Assyria, went up to the temple, and offered a fervent prayer for deliverance, after having first spread "before Jehovah"—almost as if Jehovah were bodily present to look and listen—the letter which he had received from the messengers (II Kings 19:14 ff.).

Prayer is the natural expression of a vital communion with God. Yet, considering the power which the idea of God exercised over the thoughts and lives of the nobler Hebrews, the prayers in the historical books of the Old Testament are surprisingly few. This may be explained partly, as we have suggested, by the fact that, as the history is a national one, these books exhibit the men, on the whole, in public rather than in private relationships. But there may be other and deeper reasons. It is at least conceivable that a living faith could express itself in the general attitude and direction of the life, without formally expressing itself in language. This may partly explain the absence of prayer from the story of such a life as Joseph's. Occasions enough there were for it. For long he trod a path of sorrow. He was destitute, afflicted, tormented. It was through a very stern discipline that he was ultimately brought to a wealthy place. He was. too, a man of noble piety, yet it is never said that he prayed. Of course no historian or biographer is bound to report everything and the argument from silence is notoriously precarious. Still the silence is remarkable and perhaps significant. If, however, there is no recorded prayer, there is in its place a mighty sense, as we have seen, of the overshadowing presence and the vigilant providence of God. "How can I do this great wickedness and sin against God?" The piety of the man, if not, in the record, formally expressed in prayer, is interwoven with his life. It is different in the story of Daniel, whose career was in many ways so similar to that of Joseph. Both narratives are full of dreams and interpretations, the heroes of both were captives and they both rose in the land of their captivity to positions of exceptional honor and influence. But in the story of Daniel prayer and allusions to prayer are frequent. The same great faith in God animates both narratives, but the one expresses itself in prayer, the other does not, and the reason is probably to be sought in the simple fact that the story of Daniel is about seven centuries later than that of Joseph. During this interval prayer shared in the development which characterized the religion generally. The prayers of the postexilic period are at once more numerous, more elaborate, and more formal than those of the pre-exilic.1

 $^{^{\}mathtt{I}}$ The substance of this paragraph I have taken from my Prayers of the Bible, pp. 72 ff.

But whether the records attest it or not, we must suppose that prayer was, from the beginning, an integral, if not a prominent part of Hebrew religion; and, even in the earliest records, prayers of all kinds find a place—petitions, thanksgivings, intercessions, confessions—though naturally confessions appear much more frequently in the later period, when stern experience and prophetic teaching had deepened the sense of sin. More or less throughout the Old Testament, but especially in the earlier period, petitions gather round things material—food, drink, raiment, prosperity; "the dew of heaven, the fatness of the earth, and plenty of corn and wine;" deliverance from danger, sickness, and death. Prayers for children are naturally of frequent occurrence. Hannah entreats Jehovah, with prayer and promise, for a son (I Sam. 1:11), and David beseeches him with prayer and fasting for the recovery of Bathsheba's sick child (II Sam. 12:16). Occasionally there occur unlovely, though not unintelligible prayers for vengeance (of Samson, Judges 16:28; of Zechariah, II Chron. 24:22). There is a quaint and simple beauty about the prayer of Abraham's servant for a prosperous journey: "O Jehovah the God of my master Abraham, send me, I pray thee, goodspeed this day, and show kindness to my master Abraham," etc. (Gen. 24:12). But it goes without saving that the prayers of men like the Hebrews were not exhausted in petitions like these. Solomon is represented as praying for a wise and understanding heart (I Kings 3:11 f.), and Moses as entreating a vision of the glory of God (Exod. 33:18), a glory which is at once explained as a revelation of Jehovah's grace.

Communion with God naturally finds expression not only in petition for oneself, but in intercession for others. Samuel regards intercession as part of his duty, the neglect of which would be a sin (I Sam. 12:23). It is perhaps, however, not altogether an accident that practically all the intercessory prayers of the Old Testament are offered by prophets. Moses, whom Deuteronomy (34:10) regards as Israel's greatest prophet, repeatedly appears in the rôle of intercessor—pleading for the removal of the plagues from Pharaoh, of the leprosy from Miriam (Num. 12:13), of the serpents from the sinful people (21:7); and he touches almost unparalleled heights of self-sacrificing devotion (cf. Rom. 9:3) in his prayer for the apostate people: "If thou wilt forgive their sin; and if not, blot me, I pray thee,

out of thy book which thou hast written" (Exod. 32:32). As the prophet was peculiarly charged with the spiritual welfare of others, so he bore them on his heart before God.

The goodness of God is frequently acknowledged in prayers of gratitude. Abraham's servant blesses God for the successful issue of his journey (Gen. 24:27); thanksgivings are offered for victory in war (Exod., chap. 15), for the ripening of the fruits of the soil (Deut. 26:5–10), for recovery from sickness (Isa., chap. 38), for an unexpected turn in the national fortunes (Ezra 7:27 f.). Nowhere perhaps is the humility of true gratitude expressed with a more exquisite or affecting simplicity than in the prayer of Jacob: "I am not worthy of the least of all the love and the faithfulness which thou hast showed to thy servant" (Gen. 32:10).

A few brief confessions of sin are found in pre-exilic literature, but the post-exilic confessions are very much longer and more elaborate (Ezra, chap. 9; Neh., chap. 9). "Behold, we are before thee in our guiltiness;" "I am ashamed," Erza confesses, "and blush to lift up my face to thee, my God: for our iniquities are increased over our head, and our guiltiness is grown up unto the heavens" (Ezra 9:6).

In prayers of petition, intercession, thanksgiving, confession, we get a glimpse of the inner side of Hebrew piety. We shall now look briefly at the manner in which it affected conduct. The consciousness of the divine presence is at once a cleansing and an inspiring influence. The cleansing power of the "fear of God" is happily illustrated by the Law of Holiness: "Ye shall be holy, for I am holy" (Lev., chaps. 17-26). The Hebrew who recognizes his true relation to his God will conform to the highest ethical demands in his relations to society; he will be scrupulously honest, he will be tenderly considerate of the deaf, the blind, the hired servant, he will scorn all intrigue and slander, he will love the stranger and honor the aged (Lev., chap. 19). fear of God keeps Nehemiah (5:14 f.) from taking an unjust advantage of his official position. It will keep any true man from hardening his heart and shutting his hand against the poor (Deut. 15:7). It will enable him to abandon, without murmuring, his most cherished hopes (Deut. 3:26; 4:22), to accept with meekness the discipline that is sent and the fortune that is allotted (II Sam. 15:25 f.), to obey the divine voice though his heart be breaking (Gen., chap. 22), to commit his case with quiet hope to God (II Sam. 16:12).

But the sense of the divine presence, besides being a support in sorrow, and a power that searches and purifies the motives of conduct, is no less an inspiration to the courageous performance of duty. "Be strong and of a good courage. He it is that doth go before thee. He will be with thee: fear not, neither be dismayed" (Deut 31:8). Jehovah of Hosts, Master of the resources of the universe, can equip his servants for the work which he gives them to do. He is able and willing to endow a poor speaker with the power of ready and effective speech (Exod. 4:12), and to impart wisdom and understanding to one to whom is committed the high task of administration (I Kings, chap. 3). In short, the devout man feels that his life is evermore being "kept," and that a gracious face is shining upon him (Num. 6:24-26).

It is worthy of note that most of the great figures of Hebrew history, even in the realm of action, are men of prayer: for example, Moses, David, Elijah, Nehemiah. Of the first two we have already spoken. Elijah's titanic energy was sustained, at least in part, on prayer: he prays for the widow's son, he prays in the great scene on Carmel, and elsewhere. But of all the glimpses we get of the prayer life of Old Testament worthies, surely the most delightful is that afforded by the autobiographical memoirs of Nehemiah. He is a true man of action —look at him on his midnight ride round the walls of Jerusalem, or later organizing their restoration and defense—but he is no less a true man of prayer. His plans for Jerusalem are not his own, they are what my God put into my heart (2:12), and it is his God who puts it into his heart to draw up a list of the burghers of Jerusalem (7:5). In such language we breathe the very purest atmosphere of piety: they are the words of a keen and vigorous man whose whole life must have been a conscious walk with God. Up and down his book are scattered prayers, dropped often quite incidentally into the course of his narrative, that his God would remember him for good. The Persian king, he tells us, granted him permission to return with official authority to Jerusalem, according to the good hand of my God upon me (2:8); and when he reaches his destination, and, after investigation, proposes to the leading men to restore the walls of Jerusalem, "I told them of

the hand of my God which was good upon me" (2:18). This phrase indeed seems to be characteristic of the piety of the period (cf. Ezra 8:22, 31). When some influential men jeered at Nehemiah's proposal, he has his answer ready: "The God of heaven, he will prosper us: therefore we his servants will arise and build" (2:19 f.). And when those same scoffers, provoked by the rapid progress which the walls were making, began to plan cunning and violent measures to check that progress, "we made our prayer unto God and set a watch against them day and night" (4:9). This fine recognition of the necessity of work as well as prayer and of prayer as well as work, comes out in his appeal to the men whom he has organized for the defense of the city: "Be not afraid of them: remember the Lord, and fight" (4:14). Here is a man of splendid practical gifts, of deep insight into the needs of a situation, and of large appreciation of the way in which those needs may best be practically met, and the necessary forces organized and kept efficient; but he recognizes no less clearly the indefeasible importance of prayer. He understands the inspiration that religion brings to the man who has difficult or dangerous work to do. He knows that men will fight better for remembering the Lord. He knows all this out of his own experience. All his activities are rooted in God: all his life is sustained by the inspiring and sheltering sense of God's presence: "Remember me, O my God, and spare me according to the greatness of thy loving-kindness" (13:22). Nowhere does this receive so remarkable expression as in the story of his interview with the Persian king, from whom he wishes to beg a favor which is likely to have far-reaching effects upon the welfare of his dear distant home-land. The king asked him what was the nature of his request. "So I prayed to the God of heaven, and I said to the king, etc." (2:4 f.). This swift, silent, unrecorded prayer for help which he sends up to heaven before venturing upon an answer is a most eloquent testimony to the atmosphere and quality of his life: surely such a man lived in the Presence. One is involuntarily reminded of the later promise, fulfilled already by anticipation in such a man as Nehemiah: "Be not anxious beforehand what ye shall speak; but whatsoever shall be given you in that hour, that speak ye" (Mark 13:11).

These charming memoirs, with their straightforward, soldier-like

statements, and their simple, open-hearted confessions are of inestimable value as a first-hand utterance of the faith—alike on its practical and its devotional side—of one of Israel's great historical figures; and they deepen our regret that the Old Testament has no other quite similar document to offer. What would we not give for such a memoir from the hand of one of the martyrs who fell in the persecution of Manasseh, when the streets of Jerusalem ran with "innocent blood very much" (II Kings 21:16)? The Psalms, it may be said, supply this lack of autobiographical memoirs in the historical books. In part they do; but the clue to the historical origin and setting of a psalm is so seldom recoverable that we have to content ourselves, in the main, with the revelation it affords of the Psalmist's religious experience and spiritual temper. This is much, but it is not everything. The concrete details of an important historical situation, the glowing faith which enabled a man to move among those details with sovereign ease and authority, and the story of all this in the man's own words—these things are peculiarly welcome and precious. We have not the intimate knowledge we might desire of the great leaders of the Hebrew people; but enough remains to show that, whatever form their work may have taken, they were men who stayed their souls on God.

THE SPIRIT OF FREEDOM IN THE LAW

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The most conspicuous service that critical study has rendered to the spiritual appreciation of the Old Testament is the new relief in which it has placed the prophets. Instead of being regarded as mere interpreters of the Law, with the additional gift of insight into the issues of the future, these men now stand forth as the great creative spirits through whom the divine light that shone on Israel broadened toward "the perfect day." The emphasis thus laid on prophecy has naturally tended to a disparagement of the Law. In modern studies of the religion of Israel, this element is often represented as an alien graft upon the nobler stem of free prophetic religion, which was from the beginning hostile to the true genius of prophecy, and in the end actually succeeded in strangling the purer growth—an excrescence whose only real significance was to prepare men, by force of contrast, for something better.

In this there is a certain measure of truth. Prophecy and Law are natural antagonists. The former represents the ideal and progressive element—the living spirit and essence of religion; the latter the formal, traditional, and conservative side—the letter. The aim of Law is to reduce the whole sphere of moral and religious life to rule and order. The native air of prophecy, on the other hand, is freedom. Religious progress consists essentially in the rising of the free spirit of prophecy beyond the rigid fetters the Law seeks to impose. Thus we find the two sides often engaged in bitter conflict. Yet it seems unjust to characterize the Law as an alien growth on the living stem of spiritual religion. The two elements are really complementary. The letter without the spirit is dead. But with equal justice it may be said that the spirit without the letter diffuses itself into insubstantiality, and yields no lasting fruit. From the mutual interaction, and even the struggles and conflicts, of the two sides victory is won, as from the opposition of progressive and conservative forces in political life. The great lines of advance are made by prophetic spirits:

but the fruits of progress are conserved by the Law, which thus raises the plane of national life, and even prepares the platform for a loftier flight of the spirit.¹

The Law ought not, therefore, to be set in irreconcilable opposition to freedom. As an embodiment of the spirit of prophecy, it is rather to be regarded as a legitimate and natural expression of freedom—as literature is of thought. It becomes bondage only when the expression is treated as final, and all further progress of the spirit is barred. So long as Law respects its true vocation as the conservator and consolidator of progress, and remains flexible enough to embrace the results of constantly advancing knowledge and experience, it will prove no stifling prison-house in which the spirit of freedom is slowly but surely starved to death, but rather a spacious home in which the lover of truth and goodness can move with perfect freedom, and in the atmosphere around which he may continue to "mount up with wings as eagles," and to breathe deeper draughts of the freedom of the sons of God.

It used to be the fashion of enthusiasts for the natural rights of man to point us back to the golden age of the "noble savage"—who was represented as in all things a law to himself—as the halcyon days of freedom. The idea of a primitive "lawless" age, however, has been proved to be the merest figment of the imagination. The life even of the rudest communities is hedged about by a network of rules and conventionalities—social, moral, and ritual—which are as binding in their authority as the most solemnly ordained laws of Israel. Yet it can hardly be maintained by the serious student that these laws impose any undue restraint upon the free spirit of the tribesmen. To the evil-minded, indeed, they act as a wholesome deterrent. But the good and honest find the voke an easy one. The law seeks not the enslavement of the individual, but simply the highest well-being of the whole. Thus the loval son of his people. who is content to lose his selfish freedom for the sake of the whole, finds his freedom return to him in a higher and richer form. The

¹ Wellhausen has brought out the fundamental harmony of Law and prophecy with his usual incisiveness: "The prophets and the Law represent no vital contrast, but are identical in their aims, and stand really in the relation of cause and effect" (Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch. I, p. 130).

transition from oral to written law imposes no new bondage. The only danger to freedom lies in the undue authority with which the written word is often invested. "What I have written, I have written." Under the influence of such subservience to the letter of the law, obsolete elements have tended to remain wrapped up in the organic structure of law, and thus to hamper the free movement of the spirit of progress. It may however be said that, so long as the ideal remains alive and active, and room is given for its fuller expression, the law continues to keep pace with the spiritual development of the people, and thus affords one of our surest indices to moral and religious progress. While law thus follows the leading of the spirit of progress, it can hardly be regarded as the enemy of freedom, but rather as its loyal friend and champion. Nor can law be held responsible for the decline and fall of the national spirit in such nations as Babylonia, Greece, and Rome—to quote but a few outstanding examples. In all these cases the development of the law simply marks the course the national spirit itself took. When that became corrupt, law also lost its purity, and passed over into lawlessness. And no strong bulwark longer remained to preserve inviolate the freedom of the people.

In general, the growth of Law in Israel obeys the same principles as among all other nations. Here too we have to deal, not with the placing of a rigid, mechanical voke upon the necks of a hitherto free people, at an advanced stage of its history, but with a gradual development, reaching back to the most primitive times, even before Israel was a nation. The roots of the Law are struck deep in ancient Semitic usage. Its many-sided development on Canaanite soil was fostered and stimulated by the new conditions which inevitably arose from the transition to agricultural life, and at a later stage from Israel's entrance into a larger world through the establishment and expansion of the monarchy. Various elements in the Law appeared, no doubt, as the direct response to these conditions: others take the shape of precedents from judicial rulings of the priests (the original sense of Torah); others again can be traced to Canaanite and, in the last instance, probably to Babylonian influence. But what we have here to emphasize is that the Law of Israel formed no dead corpus of multifarious elements, brought together by blind chance, without organic relation to each other. From the beginning, the spirit of Israelwhich was the living Spirit of Jehovah, the God of Israel-moved among the dry bones, instinctively separating out and rejecting all that was incongruous with the purer faith, but attracting, from whatsoever source, that which was worthy, true, and good; exercising a refining, purifying, and humanizing influence over all the elements, and thus building them up together into a harmonious whole. Even before the earliest codes were formulated, we find this spirit at work. Consciously or unconsciously, men governed their conduct by standards like these: such and such a course would be "folly in Israel," "there hath been no such deed ever done or seen in Israel," "how can I do this great wickedness, and sin against God?" When bodies of precedent came to be consolidated, and formulated as written laws, the same ideal principle naturally controlled the process. Thus the Law of Israel, at all its different stages, is equally to be regarded as the natural expression of the free spirit of the people, in its endeavor to shape its conduct into more perfect conformity with the unique spiritual principle that lav at the basis of that people's faith and life. And as such, in its earliest forms at least, the Law was anything but bondage. In Israel, as among other nations, evil men rebelled against restraint. But by the lovers of God and justice, the Law was reverenced as the safeguard alike of personal and national honor and freedom, and obeyed with willingness, even with joy.

The earliest example of an elaborate code in Israel is found in the "Book of the Covenant" (Exod. 20:22—23:19), which is probably to be dated in the early monarchy, and may thus be accepted as a revelation of how the people who feared Jehovah and sought after "wisdom" regulated their conduct to harmonize with their faith.

It is to be observed that in this early code the stress is laid, not on the strictly religious element of rite and ceremony, but on the simple duties of common, everyday morality. The cultus occupies but the closing verses of the "Book," and is largely a recapitulation of the ritual Decalogue of Exod., chap. 34. Even here religious duties pass easily over into the sphere of commonplace morality. The keeping of the Sabbath appears, for example, rather as an act of humanity toward the toil-worn servant-maid and stranger, and as an occasion of kindness to the poor ox or ass, than as a token of homage to God

himself (23:12). For the rest, the "Book" shows the old inflexible spirit of Semitic justice yielding to the kindlier feeling that was already subduing the heart of Israel—the reflection of the gracious character of Israel's God. Justice lies at the basis of mercy. And this "Book" is just. It demands justice for all, for the poor as for the rich, for the widow and the fatherless, and for the stranger, who have no strong arm to champion their cause, as impartially as for the great and powerful, who bring their multitudes of clients to overawe the dispensers of justice (23:6-9). The fundamental Semitic principle of bloodrevenge is respected—for justice demands that blood should be held sacred—but it is restricted in its application to the exact equivalent, "life for life, eye for eye, tooth for tooth," etc. (21:24), while the unintentional man-slayer is given a chance to escape (21:13). In like manner, such practices as slavery and concubinage are recognized -for the Law can rise no higher than the level set by the highest conscience of the people—but the evils of both are mitigated. The slave has rights as much as his master, and these must be respected. At the end of six years, too, he must be set at liberty; or, if he prefer to remain with his master, he must be treated as a brother in Israel (21:1-6). Even the concubine is entitled to her rights (21:7-11). In this Law, too, property is respected, but the creditor is commanded to be merciful to his debtor. If he receive his neighbor's garment in pledge, he must by all means restore it before sundown, that the poor man may have wherewith to cover himself (22:26). Even an enemy has his rights. If a child of Israel meeteth his enemy's ox or ass going astray, or seeth it lying under its burden, he must not forbear to bring help (23:4 f.).

There is nothing in a simple, natural code like this to make it sit upon the conscience of the people with a weight "heavy as frost." Nor does the picture of the life of the times which we have in contemporary records convey any such idea. No doubt from the beginning there were "fools" who despised God and his laws. But the true children of Israel lived together in unity and friendship, worshiping their common God, and respecting each other's landmarks, and finding a deep satisfying joy in the common moralities of life. Still less were their religious obligations an occasion of gloom and restraint. On the contrary, the festal days when they appeared with their

offerings before Jehovah were the seasons of their most abounding joy. "Then the crowds streamed into the sanctuary from all sides, dressed in their gayest attire, marching joyfully to the sound of music, and bearing with them not only the victims appointed for sacrifice, but store of bread and wine to set forth the feast. The law of the feast was open-handed hospitality; no sacrifice was complete without guests, and portions were freely distributed to rich and poor within the circle of a man's acquaintance. Universal hilarity prevailed, men ate, drank, and were merry together, rejoicing before their God."

What is more important for our purpose to observe is, that there is nothing in this early Law in any wise inimical to the free development of the prophetic spirit. It is not without significance that the prophets hurled their fieriest bolts of judgment against the practices most severely condemned in the "Book of the Covenant"—the oppression of the stranger, the fatherless and the widow, partiality of justice, and the retaining of garments taken in pledge.³ They had, no doubt, a wider outlook on moral obligation than the authors of the "Covenant;" but this represented the common platform on which they stood, and from which they made their higher ascent. And though their aim was not directly the promulgation of a new code, such was the result of their activities. The preaching of the prophets had infused a new spirit into morality, which demanded a richer expression than the old law had been able to give. The revolutionary effect of Deuteronomy in abolishing the old high places and concentrating the worship of Jehovah in Jerusalem has bulked most largely in history. But this was merely one application of the principle of the book, and was probably dictated more by moral than by strictly religious motives. Deuteronomy is really a revision of the old law from the prophetic standpoint. The bulk of its "statutes and judgments" are repetitions of the old, though often with a new extension, under the influence of the humanistic spirit which breathes through the code. Along with these, however, we have new laws, applicable to new social and moral conditions. The code is, in effect, a serious attempt to keep pace with the moral development of Israel, under the inspiration of

² W. Robertson Smith, Religion of the Semites², p. 254.

³ Cf. Amos 2:6 f., 8; 4:1; 5:10 f.; 8:5 f.; Isa. 10:2; 20:21, etc.

prophetic principles.4 And it is by no means an external law, seeking to bind down the conscience to practices to which it cannot freely assent. Its first appeal is to the heart. "And these words, which I command thee this day, shall be in thine heart" (6:6; 11:18, etc.). Thus, far more stress is laid on motive than in the earlier law. "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy might" (6:5; 10:12, etc.). Nor is this love, as it has been represented, enjoined upon the people in a hard, stern, loveless fashion. The command to love is shot through with tender reflections on God's unceasing kindness to them, in bringing them from the house of bondage, and shepherding them through the perils of the desert, and giving them and their children this good land, "flowing with milk and honey." The loving-kindness of the Lord may almost be represented as the spiritual theme of the book. The author, or authors, are constantly recalling the goodness of Jehovah, lingering over it, and thus seeking to instil into the hearts of the people a warm deep love to him, which will make them rejoice before him in all they put their hands to, and lend themselves with cheerfulness to do his will (12:7, 18; 16:11, 14, etc.).

Thus the code of Deuteronomy is as little as the older law a yoke of bondage thrust upon the shoulders of an unwilling people. If it proved a failure at the time, this was owing not to the character of the Law in itself, but to the people's perverse idea of what God required of them. Judged by the same test, the prophets' own preaching was a complete failure. The people were still too much wrapped up in their own selfish interests, or given over to the degrading pleasures of their heathenish worship, to turn to God, and serve him in sincerity and truth. It needed the spiritual experiences which came to them as the result of the Babylonian Exile to draw them back to the God of righteousness. But to a people really consecrated to Jehovah, a code like Deuteronomy, with its appeal to the purest motives that could sway the heart, would prove no heavy burden, but a welling fountain of delight.

^{4 &}quot;Nowhere more clearly than in the motives of Deuteronomy is the fundamental thought of prophecy expressed, that Jahwe seeks nothing for himself alone, but regards and desires as the true evidence of piety that man should do to man what is right; that his will lies not in the unknown high and far, but in the moral sphere which is known and understood by all" (Wellhausen, *Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch.* p. 131).

Equally unwarranted appears to be the assumption often so confidently expressed that prophets like Jeremiah assumed from the first an attitude of hostility to the law.5 It still seems to us most reasonable to find in Jer., chap. 11, a reference to the prophet's youthful activity on behalf of the law. And if afterward he stood aloof from the Deuteronomic movement, it was in no spirit of hostility to the law in itself, but because the people had forgotten the essence of the law, and allowed their enthusiasm for outward reformation to do duty for that loving devotion to Jehovah and brotherly kindness to their fellows in which the law summed up the whole duty of man. That Jeremiah stood in no real antagonism to the law itself seems sufficiently evidenced by the frequent traces of the influence of Deuteronomy which are found throughout his prophecies, as in the "words" of his successors Ezekiel and Deutero-Isaiah. The code being a natural expression of the prophetic spirit, men born of the same spirit were the most able to appreciate its lofty motives, and to carry forward the great work they had equally at heart. Thus, so far from being the death of prophecy, as is frequently asserted, Deuteronomy would appear to have played an important part in preparing for the splendid outburst of prophecy in the immediately succeeding ages.

The real root of opposition between prophets and people lay in the subservience of the moral to the ceremonial elements in religion. The people were for the most part sedulous in their devotion to the rites of worship, while they omitted the "weightier matters of the law"—the moral duties which God required first of all. It was this that called forth the indignant outbursts found in Amos 5:21-27; Isa. 1:10-17, and similar passages. Not that the ceremonial was without significance. Sacrifice was an essential part of ancient religion. It represented the mystical side, through which the worshiper approached the living God, and maintained his relation of intimate fellowship with Him. But to prophetic spirits this was worthless without its natural fruits in moral conduct. As we have observed, the "Book of the Covenant" pays relatively little attention to the

⁵ Thus Marti represents Jeremiah as having looked upon the new phase inaugurated by Deuteronomy as "a hindrance to the true knowledge and worship of God, not an advance toward the nearer fulfilment of the prophetic ideal" (Gesch. der Isr. Rel., p. 196).

ceremonial. It prescribes but a few simple rules regarding the observance of the Sabbath and the three festal days on which the early Hebrews appeared before their God. The code of Deuteronomy represents a more fully developed ritual. But here too the moral side predominates. Even the radical changes which this code inaugurates in worship are dictated chiefly by considerations of morality. It was only when the continuity of Israel's history was broken by the Exile that the ritual element came into full prominence in the Law. Israel had lost all but its faith. To conserve that, Ezekiel and his coadjutors felt themselves called to build up the people as no longer a kingdom, but a community of worshiping servants of Jehovah. To this end, the ordinances of worship must be carefully regulated and prescribed. The first steps in this direction were taken by Ezekiel himself in his epoch-making vision of the New Jerusalem (chaps. 40-48). The original draft here drawn up was further elaborated in the "Law of Holiness" (Lev., chaps. 17-26), and still further in the Priestly Code, where the whole details of correct ritual are laid down with a completeness which leaves no loophole of escape, and enjoined with all the sanctity that comes from the express command of Jehovah himself.

To characterize this new and extraordinary development of the religious spirit in Israel as nothing but "a hindrance to the true knowledge and worship of God" seems to indicate a certain lack of real sympathy with the inner movement of religion. As we have seen, the ceremonial element stands for an essential part of early religion what the ordinary worshiper indeed would have regarded as its most vital side—the direct approach of the worshiper to his God. And what Ezekiel and his priestly successors aimed at was the legitimate development of this side. In their work we have to deal with no arbitrary constructions on a novel basis, but simply with an expansion of the older forms of worship to meet the changed conditions of the time. In many of its elements the Priestly Code is, no doubt, but a reproduction of the time-honored usages of Solomon's Temple, though certain other elements must be regarded as adaptations to the new order. But the authors of the Law appear to have been guided throughout by the true priestly ideal of making the worship of the restored community more worthy of the transcendent majesty and holiness of God, as well as a more adequate response to the people's quickened consciousness of sin. Thus Paul was able to recognize in the Law a paedagogus, or slave-attendant, to bring men to the school of Christ. But it was not merely in this negative sense that the Law led forward to Christ. Though it was now concerned primarily with the ceremonial rites of worship, the moral element was by no means overlooked. The father of legalism, Ezekiel, was likewise the purest exponent among the prophets of the doctrine of personal responsibility, and of the "new heart and spirit" which God is to give his people, that they may worship him in spirit and in truth. The "Law of Holiness" supplements its ritual ordinances by a moral code of singular loftiness and purity, based on the principle which Jesus Christ gave forth as summing up the whole duty of man to man: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself" (Lev. 19:18). And though the Priestly Code is occupied almost exclusively with details of worship, yet it appears never to have been intended to stand alone, but was bound up with the earlier codes of the "Covenant," Deuteronomy, and the "Law of Holiness." There resulted, no doubt, a compromise, which failed to satisfy logical minds, or bold religious geniuses like Paul. But it saved the Law from being the purely ceremonial prison-house it seems. To the pure in heart, who served their God with sincerity, the Law was so far from being a burden "unable to be borne" that they could sing of it as their chief delight. The later psalms are full of this joy. The good man's "delight is in the law of the Lord" (Ps. 1:2). "More to be desired are they than gold, yea than much fine gold, sweeter also than honey and the honeycomb" (Ps. 19:10). "O how love I thy law! it is my meditation all the day" (Ps. 119:07).6 In the keeping of the Law the good man found his true liberty: "I will walk at liberty; for I have sought thy precepts" (Ps. 119:45).

Thus even in its completest form the Law had not the effect of dealing the death-blow to spiritual religion. The efflorescence of legalism is, no doubt, coincident with the waning of prophecy. But

⁶ This delight in the Law has occasioned astonishment to scholars like Smend and Marti, who regard the Law as essentially "bondage," and can only explain these outbursts of joy as "contradictions in Judaism" (cf. Smend, Alltest. R. Gesch., p. 343; Marti, Gesch. der Isr. Rel., pp. 285 f.). Wellhausen sees far more deeply into the heart of Jewish piety (cf. Isr. u. Jüd. Gesch. pp. 205 f.).

perhaps other influences had more to do with the latter result than the oppressive bondage of the Law. Prophecy appeared always as the outcome of certain conditions such as the emergence of some great crisis in national affairs, the inner meaning of which it was the prophet's task to interpret. With the disappearance of the old forms of national life, spiritual religion assumed new modes of expression. If prophecy waned, religious poetry burst forth with a glory the brightest ages of the past had never witnessed. Nor does the Law appear to have been in any way hostile to these free movements of the spirit. It was indeed those who gloried most in the Law who made the boldest flights to heavenly planes.

To Christian scholars who have learned in the school of St. Paul, it is natural to characterize the Law, as it has become stereotyped by rabbinic teachers, as a bondage intolerable to the spirit. But the actual testimony of those who have lived under the Law is to the contrary effect. "We have the testimony of a literature extending over about twenty-five centuries, and including all sorts and conditions of men, scholars, poets, mystics, lawyers, casuists, schoolmen, tradesmen, workmen, women, simpletons, who all, from the author of the 119th Psalm to the last pre-Mendelssohnian writer—with a small exception which does not even deserve the name of a vanishing minority—give unanimous evidence in favor of this Law, and of the bliss and happiness of living and dying under it For, as Maimonides points out, the laws of the Torah are not meant as an infliction upon mankind but as "mercy, loving-kindness, and peace."

And yet the "great pathologist of Judaism" was right. The Law had a true part to play in the history of Revelation. It conserved the fruits of the prophets' preaching, and kept enshrined amid all the perils of the period the two spiritual principles on which "hang all the Law and the prophets" (Matt. 22:40, etc.). But it was always an imperfect expression of these principles. Its moral code remained conditioned by the social conditions of Israel, and could not therefore be accepted as the complete law of conduct by any nation that had not grown up with Israel's growth. The ceremonial law equally pointed to something better, of which its rites were but the temporary symbols. Thus the Law contained within itself the potency of a

⁷ Schechter, Studies in Judaism, pp. 296 f.

higher life. The most devoted sons of the Law, such as the "rich young ruler" and Saul of Tarsus, who had "kept all these things from their vouth up," felt they still lacked something, the loss of which brought them almost to despair. And when the "fulfilment" came in Iesus Christ, the Law had to yield. No doubt, the early disciples could walk with freedom within the old domains of the Law. But when the new religion passed from Jewish soil on its march to the conquest of the world, it had to find a wider horizon. To impose the Jewish law on the Christian religion would, as the great apostle of freedom so clearly perceived, narrow it down to a mere Jewish sect. And in refusing to enter into the higher freedom of Christ, Judaism condemned itself to perpetual sectarianism. Till this time the Law had been a real expression of the religious spirit, and had kept pace with the advance of that spirit. But now it became stereotyped. And though it continues to afford a measure of freedom and delight to the "children of the Law," it could never be other than slavery to those born without the Jewish pale. Nor does it really satisfy the highest aspirations of the children themselves. There may be room within the circle of the Law for scholars and rabbis and commonplace moralists. But, as Montefiore has candidly acknowledged, there is no longer a place in Judaism for the spiritual genius. "Such minds as Philo, Maimonides, Spinoza, receive their inspiration from the foreigner, and the greatest of them all emancipates himself from Judaism and the law even more thoroughly than St. Paul."8 There can be no more convincing evidence that the Law of Israel had at last succumbed to the danger of holding to the letter when the spirit has fled. In refusing to give expression to the upward movement of the spirit, the Law became a mere outward husk, in which there is no seed of growth. The spirit of freedom now lives and moves and has its being within the new spiritual organism which, in "fulfilling" the Law, likewise emancipated itself from its bondage.

⁸ Montefiore, Hibbert Lectures, p. 545.

THE CONVERSION AND EARLY MINISTRY OF PAUL

ACTS 9: 1-31; 11: 25-30; 13: 1-14: 28; GAL. 1: 15-24

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The apostle Paul, unquestionably the greatest figure of the Apostolic Age, was a Jew of the Dispersion, whose home was at Tarsus of Cilicia (Acts 9:11; 11:25; 21:39; 22:3). He grew up in this university town famous for its Greek learning. His father was a Roman citizen, and he inherited this citizenship; but in religion he was brought up strictly as a Jew, and so continued until his conversion to Christianity in the year 34 A.D. (or thereabout), at the age of thirty (more or less). He probably received his early training in the synagogue at Tarsus, as a Jewish boy naturally would. It is not likely that he attended the gentile schools, or that in any other way he became versed in Greek philosophy or literature. He learned the trade of making the hair cloth which was customarily used for tents and similar purposes. It is difficult to tell the financial status of his parents, but the facts seem to suggest that they were not wealthy, for he learned his trade, and during his missionary journeys he was dependent for his support upon what he could himself earn, together with such contributions as could be made to him by his churches. He went to Jerusalem at some time in his youth, perhaps at the age of thirteen or fourteen, and received the regular rabbinical training. becoming (as we may infer) a duly trained rabbi of Judaism.

We lack information as to his career between the time when he became a rabbi and the time when he appears in connection with the death of Stephen. It is probable that during this interval he was working as a rabbi at Tarsus, or in some other place outside of Palestine. He was not in Palestine during the public ministry of Jesus, arriving there the second time only after that ministry had closed. When in Acts, chap. 7, we see Paul (Saul) standing by while Stephen is stoned he is a young man of about thirty years (Acts 7:58), a Pharisee as he describes himself (Acts 23:6; 26:5; Phil. 3:5), and actively

¹ This study covers the period included in the International Sunday School Lessons for April 18 and 25; May 2, 9, and 16.

engaged in the persecution of the Christians (Acts 8:3; 22:4; 26:11; I Cor. 15:9; Gal. 1:13, 23; Phil. 3:6).

This attitude of Paul toward the disciples of Jesus was in direct pursuance of what he regarded as his duty. He believed fully in the Jewish faith, and would defend it strenuously against its opponents. It would seem that, coming into Palestine while the first Christians were multiplying at Jerusalem and increasing their hold upon the people, the rabbi Paul adopted the attitude which the Pharisees as a class had assumed toward the Christians. Without having opportunity to know Jesus, or to consider intelligently and deliberately the gospel teaching, he entered vigorously into the Pharisaic campaign against them. As he was a Pharisee of the Pharisees he easily became a persecutor of the persecutors. He approved the execution of Stephen, and took part in the imprisonment of many other Christians. zeal which had marked the Pharisaic persecution of Jesus during his ministry later manifested itself in the persecution which Paul associated himself with against the followers of Jesus, and Paul for a time stood forth as the leader of this persecution.

HIS CONVERSION TO CHRISTIANITY

However, his career as a persecutor of the Christians did not long continue. As he approached the city of Damascus for the purpose of arresting there any Christians whom he might find (Acts 9:2), he passed through a sudden and remarkable experience which carried him over from Judaism into Christianity. The book of Acts furnishes three accounts of this experience (Acts 9:1-19; 22:3-16; 26:2-18), and Paul himself writes of it in his letter to the Galatians (1:13-16). With regard to the external accompaniments of the experience the Acts narratives are in some uncertainty, while Paul's own narrative says nothing about them. The essential thing in the experience was the conviction at which Paul arrived that Jesus, whose disciples these Christians were, was in fact the long-promised Messiah. This being the case it was at once clear that he must accept him as such, and must work for him instead of against him. Included in the experience as a necessary corollary of it Paul saw that his work as a believer in the Messiah would be to proclaim Jesus and his gospel to the gentile world.

This immediate and complete change in Paul from a persecutor to an adherent of Christianity is not wholly unintelligible; the psychological process can be at least in part discovered. Paul does not give evidence of a conscious wavering toward Christianity, away from Pharisaism, over a prolonged period; he seems rather to have given an unquestioning, almost fanatical, support to Judaism against Christianity. His conversion came to him as a surprise and as a reversal of conscious purposes. At the same time, subconscious preparation for the change had been going on within him. He was in fact greatly disappointed and disheartened at Judaism in that it did not furnish him spiritual rest and satisfaction. He has given an intensely vivid description of his spiritual unrest in the Epistle to the Romans (chap. 7). He was therefore in a position to welcome another belief which could bring him the rest and satisfaction which he sought. Further, he was a man profoundly moral and religious, living according to the best light that he had, loyal to truth and certain to weigh new light. Also, the brutal bloodshed and persecution into which his Pharisaic zeal had drawn him must have been repugnant to his humane feelings: he was a man of sympathy, highly sensitive, and thoughtful for others. These qualities in him might be overridden for a time in a blind determination to defend the faith of the Fathers, but later they must surely assert themselves against such action. Also, it is reasonable to think that the faith, courage, forgiveness, and even joy in suffering which the Christians manifested under persecution would have a deep effect upon him. Finally, he must have gained essential knowledge of the Christian teachings from Stephen's words, and from the Christians with whom as persecutor he came in contact; so that the Christian ideas and faith gradually established themselves in his mind and feeling, taking possession of him and driving out his Pharisaism. That the change came suddenly into his consciousness was due to the type of man he was—one full of intensity, activity, ardor, and subject to catastrophic experience.

HIS PREACHING IN SYRIA AND CILICIA

Paul's first work as a preacher of the gospel was at Damascus where he had been converted. He at once began to proclaim the messiahship of Jesus, and to seek to win other Jews to the same faith

(Acts 9:20-22). This aroused the hostility of the Damascus Jews, and Paul found it necessary for a time to withdraw from Damascus (Acts. 9:23-25). He went into Arabia, and returned to preach again in the same city (Gal. 1:17). But his Jewish enemies made this impracticable for him, threatening his life, so he departed from Damascus (II Cor. 11:31-33).

He then went to Jersualem. This visit was not for the purpose of entering upon a general ministry, but to confer with Peter (Gal. 1:18). The visit lasted for fifteen days. He does not tell us what he wished of Peter. Perhaps, since Paul now considered himself set apart to preach the gospel to the gentiles, he wished to have an understanding with the leading apostles at Jersualem in order that the work which he did might be joined with the Palestinian Christian movement. It has often been conjectured, and the surmise seems probable, that Paul also wished to learn from Peter the chief things Jesus had said and done during his public ministry.

Having accomplished his purpose at Jerusalem, Paul went back to Tarsus, his home city (Gal. 1:18-21; Acts 9:28-30 is perhaps less exact in some respects). We are not told of Paul's activities during the next several years. It seems quite clear, however, that he continued the preaching of Jesus as Messiah and the spread of the gospel in the province of Syria-Cilicia (Gal. 1:21). Paul was certainly not one who would choose inaction. As he had begun at once in Damascus to preach, so he quite surely continued to preach during these early years of his Christian career. There is evidence also that his work in Syria-Cilicia was largely successful, for later we read (Acts 15:41) of churches in this province (unquestionably of his own founding; cf. Rom. 15:18-20) which Paul visited and strengthened. They were the churches which he succeeded in establishing during the years before he was called to Antioch.

HIS RELATION TO THE ANTIOCH CHURCH

Eight or ten years after his conversion, and following this long period of active Christian ministry, Paul located himself at the city of Antioch, as one of the chief workers in that important church—second in importance only to the church at Jerusalem. The Book of Acts reports that this invitation came to him through Barnabas, who had

known of Paul's conversion and was a personal friend of his (Acts 11:22-26; 9:27). Barnabas, being sent from Jerusalem to witness and promote the growth of Christianity in Antioch, thought of Paul as the best man to promote this remarkable growth. According to the Acts, therefore, Paul came to the Antioch church about the year 43 A.D., and for two or three years continued resident there as a minister of the gospel. He seems to have regarded Antioch as the center of his activities, even after he began his missionary journeys which required most of his time to be spent elsewhere.

It may be that if we knew all the facts concerning Paul's early relation to the Antioch church, it would appear that he had more to do with the beginnings of it than is generally supposed. Paul gives us to understand (Gal. 1:21) that Syria-Cilicia was the field of his activity after leaving Damascus. Antioch was the capital city of this Roman province. One of the chief methods of Paul's ministry was to work in the great cities, whence the Christianity he introduced would radiate rapidly and widely. It would not be strange if Paul had been instrumental, even largely instrumental, for setting in motion at Antioch the preaching of a gentile Christianity, because he considered this his especial mission and Antioch was the capital city of the district in which his evangelization during these several years was carried on. If he had been connected from the first with the planting and growth of the Antioch church, his permanent residence there for a few years, and later his repeated return to the city as a kind of headquarters during his missionary journeys, would be well explained.

THE FIRST MISSIONARY JOURNEY

When the church at Antioch had grown large and strong, in part or chiefly through the activities of Paul there, a plan was made for the extension of Christianity westward by the sending of missionaries from Antioch to Cyprus (Acts 13:1-5). Barnabas, whose home was in Cyprus, and Paul, the two men of greatest prominence in the Antioch church, were obviously the ones to undertake this mission. The young Jewish Christian from Jerusalem, Mark, a cousin of Barnabas, accompanied them (Acts 13:5; Col. 4:10). They went through the island of Cyprus preaching in the Jewish synagogues and making converts to the gospel. Little is told of their work until they reached

Paphos, at the end of their journey through Cyprus. Here the proconsul, Sergius Paulus, a Roman official, was attracted by the gospel and asked Barnabas and Paul to instruct him concerning it (Acts 13: 6–12). He became a Christian, though nothing further is known regarding him. The Acts regards it as a notable fact that a Roman official of such high standing and influence should have become interested in, even an adherent of, the gospel.

After Cyprus had been evangelized, the question arose whether the party should return to Antioch or should go forward into new territory. Probably no more extended tour than Cyprus had been contemplated by Barnabas and Mark when they set out at first. Paul may have secretly cherished the plan of going beyond Cyprus into south central Asia Minor. The time having come to proceed or to return, Paul urged that they proceed. The party went therefore across to the Asian coast (Acts 13:13), but Mark thought it not wise for him to spend the longer time or to engage in the more difficult undertaking of this new expedition, and so returned to Jerusalem (Acts 13:13; 15:38).

Barnabas however went forward with Paul. They made their way to the interior, visiting the cities on the great Roman road through the southern portion of the province of Galatia. First at Antioch, then at Iconium, then at Lystra, and finally at Derbe, the Christian missionaries preached the gospel, secured converts, and established churches. Their method was to go first into the synagogues and make converts of as many Jews as possible. Then, when the Jews would no longer hear them and became hostile to their message, they worked among the gentiles. The gentile converts were largely in the majority. Finally, when they were driven out of each city in turn by their Jewish enemies, who aroused the populace against them, they moved on through the district until they reached the eastern edge of the province.

Instead of returning to Antioch through the Cilician Gates and overland by the great Roman highway through Cilicia and Syria, Paul and Barnabas chose to return through the cities where they had worked, to encourage the new converts and to establish more firmly the churches they had started. This they did and after passing westward through the district, they went again to the southern seaport,

preaching the gospel at Attalia. From there they sailed back to Antioch, having completed their first missionary journey.

The church at Antioch welcomed with rejoicing the news of the splendid work that had been done, and of the new churches which had been founded. One thing above all others had become clear on this journey, namely, that the gospel needed to be given to the gentiles without Judaism. It became clear that the gospel was a spiritual and independent religion, complete without Jewish rites and ceremonies, and would be accepted by the gentiles only when free from Judaism. This great truth, which was the peculiar feature of gentile Christianity, became gradually clear to the first generation of Christians, chiefly through the actual experience of preaching the gospel among the gentiles.

Exploration and Discovery

THE NESTORIAN TABLET

For centuries the western world has been more or less vaguely conscious that there existed in Northern China a stone tablet erected by Syrian Christians of the Nestorian persuasion who introduced Christianity there more than a thousand years ago. This tablet was discovered by Chinese laborers as long ago as 1625, at Sian-fu (Si-ngan fu) in Shensi. It was regarded with interest by the Chinese, and seems to have been set up by them, near the west gate of Sian-fu, in the grounds of an old Buddha temple. Efforts to protect the stone have at various times been made, but without resulting in the erection of any permanent shelter over it. (See frontispiece) Its long inscription in Chinese and Syriac has more than once been copied and translated. It relates the coming to China of Olopun, in the time of the emperor Taitsung, A. D. 635; his admission to the country, the translation into Chinese of the sacred books which he brought, and the propagation of the Illustrious Religion (Christianity), by the emperor's permission, throughout his realm. After recounting the history of the mission for nearly one hundred and fifty years (A. D. 635-781), the tablet records the conspicuous favors conferred upon the church by a certain high official under the emperor Suhtsung, and how "the white-clad members of the Illustrious Congregation now considering these men, have desired to engrave a broad tablet, in order to set forth a eulogy of their magnanimous deeds." An ode follows, and the date, in the second year of Kienchung. of the Tang Dynasty, A. D. 781. The Syriac inscription also gives the date as "the year of the Greeks 1092," a characteristically Syriac way of dating by the era of Seleucus, 312 B. C. Marco Polo, it will be remembered, visiting China at a later date, found Christian churches of this Syriac type. and when the Catholics entered China in 1292 they encountered the Nestorians. But in the vicissitudes of later times these Syro-Chinese Christians seem to have lost their individuality and disappeared in the surrounding religious communities.

The past year has witnessed a notable event in the history of this famous and historic tablet, for through the efforts of Mr. Frits von Holm, M. R. A. S., formerly of the Danish army, and now of Columbia University, a faith-

¹ The translation is that of Dr. A. Wylie, published in S. W. Williams, The Middle Kingdom, pp. 277-85, and in the Open Court, January 1909, p. 41.

ful copy of it in marble has been brought to this country and placed in the Metropolitan Museum in New York. Von Holm presented to the International Congress of Orientalists, at Copenhagen, in August last, a report of his expedition, which is reproduced, along with kindred material, in the Open Court, January, 1909. Impressed with the importance of the tablet, von Holm, after securing the necessary funds in London and New York. made his way in 1907 to China, arriving in Sian-fu on June 10, and easily found the stone, in the grounds of the Buddha temple just outside the city. The monument is a marble slab, ten feet high and weighing two tons. Von Holm soon found that to purchase the stone and remove it was impracticable, on account of local prejudice. He therefore arranged to have an exact copy of it made, in similar material, by local stone-cutters, and this was done. For the absolute precision of this replica, von Holm vouches in the strongest terms. Upon its completion, it was conveyed in a stout cart to Chengshow, in the neighboring province of Honan, and thence it was taken by rail to Hankow, on the Yangtse. After vexatious customs delays there, it was at length, through the good offices of Sir Robert Hart, released and removed by boat to Shanghai, whence it was shipped in February, 1908, to New York, to be deposited in the Metropolitan Museum. Students of Christian history, especially of the history of missions and of the history of Syrian Christianity, will keenly appreciate the efforts of von Holm and Sir Purdon Clarke in securing this notable object for an American museum.

Not the least result of von Holm's Sian-fu expedition is the removal of the original stone from its exposed situation on the temple farm, to the "Peilin," or Forest of Tablets, within the city. The local authorities were doubtless moved by von Holm's interest in the monument to take this praiseworthy although somewhat tardy step for its preservation. The original Nestorian Tablet is therefore no longer left in neglect and exposure in the fields outside the city, but now stands in relative security, among numbers of other ancient tablets within the walls of the Peilin at Sian-fu.

The opening lines of the inscription on the Tablet, or Chingchiaopei, are of remarkable interest, and in some ways recall, in spite of their diffuse Chinese style, the beginning of the Apology of Aristides (A. D. 138-61), a work preserved only in Syriac, it will be remembered.

Behold the unchangeably true and invisible, who existed through all eternity without origin; the far-seeing perfect intelligence, whose mysterious existence is everlasting; operating on primordial substance he created the universe, being more excellent than all holy intelligences, inasmuch as he is the source of all that is honorable. This is our eternal true lord God, triune and mysterious in sub-

stance. He appointed the cross as the means for determining the four cardinal points: he moved the original spirit, and produced the two principles of nature; the somber void was changed, and heaven and earth were opened out; the sun and moon revolved and day and night commenced; having perfected all inferior objects he then made the first man; upon him he bestowed an excellent disposition, giving him in charge the government of all created beings; man, acting out the original principles of his nature, was pure and unostentatious; his unsullied and expansive mind was free from the least inordinate desire until Satan introduced the seeds of falsehood, to deteriorate his purity of principle; the opening thus commenced in his virtue gradually enlarged, and by this crevice in his nature was obscured and rendered vicious; hence three hundred and sixty-five sects followed each other in continuous track, inventing every species of doctrinal complexity; while some pointed to material objects as the source of their faith, others reduced all to vacancy, even to the annihilation of the two primeval principles; some sought to call down blessings by prayers and supplications, while others by an assumption of excellence held themselves up as superior to their fellows;2 their intellects and thoughts continually wavering, their minds and affections incessantly on the move, they never obtained their vast desires, but being exhausted and distressed they revolved in their own heated atmosphere, till by an accumulation of obscurity they lost their path, and after long groping. in darkness they were unable to return. Thereupon our Trinity being divided in nature, the illustrious and honorable Messiah, veiling his true dignity, appeared in the world as a man; angelic powers promulgated the glad tidings, a virgin gave birth to the Holy One in Syria; a bright star announced the felicitous event, and Persians observing the splendor came to present tribute; the ancient dispensation as declared by the twenty-four holy men,3 was then fulfilled; and he laid down great principles for the government of families and kingdoms; he established the new religion of the silent operation of the pure spirit of the Triune, he rendered virtue subservient to direct faith, he fixed the extent of the eight boundaries, thus completing the truth and freeing it from dross; he opened the gate of the three constant principles, introducing life and destroying death; he suspended the bright sun to invade the chambers of darkness, and the falsehoods of the devil were thereupon defeated; he set in motion the vessel of mercy by which to ascend to the bright mansions, whereupon rational beings were then released; having thus completed the manifestation of his power, in clear day he ascended to his true station. Twenty-seven sacred books have been left, which disseminate intelligence by unfolding the original transforming principles. By the rule for admission it is the custom to apply the water of baptism, to wash away all superficial show and to cleanse and purify the neophytes. As a seal,

² The Gnostics are, perhaps, meant.

³ The Jewish division of the Old Testament into twenty-four books was well known to the Christian fathers (Jerome, Victorinus) and suggested to Victorinus the four and twenty elders of Rev. 4.

they hold the cross, whose influence is reflected in every direction, uniting all without distinction. As they strike the wood the fame of their benevolence is diffused abroad; worshiping toward the east, they hasten on the way to life and glory; they preserve the beard to symbolize their outward actions, they shave the crown to indicate the absence of inward affections; they do not keep slaves, but put noble and mean all on an equality; they do not amass wealth, but cast all their property into the common stock; they fast in order to perfect themselves by self-inspection; they submit to restraints, in order to strengthen themselves by silent watchfulness; seven times a day they have worship and praise for the benefit of the living and the dead; once in seven days they sacrifice, to cleanse the heart and return to purity.⁴

Brief as it is, this extraordinary preface comprises theology, cosmogony, the incarnation, Christology, scripture, and a practical manual of Christian usage. The mention of twenty-seven sacred books is difficult, for the Syrian churches ordinarily accepted but twenty-two of our New Testament books. The Nestorians of East Syria were particularly slow to accept the four disputed general epistles and Revelation, nor did these ever find their way into the Peshitto version. That they were recognized by the Nestorians in China in the seventh and eighth centuries is a point to be taken account of by students of the Syrian canon. On the whole this preface, despite its obscurities and obvious literary defects, must be reckoned a remarkable compendium of Christian doctrine and practice in its day. It seems filled with echoes of the apologists, and exhibits reminiscences of Aristides, Tatian, and the Epistle to Diognetus which can hardly be mere coincidences. A thoroughgoing comparison of this preface with the apologetic literature would probably yield valuable results.

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4 Wylie's translation as above.

Book Reviews

Dictionary of the Bible. Edited by James Hastings, with the cooperation of John A. Selbie, and with the assistance of John C. Lambert and of Shailer Mathews. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xvi+992. \$5.00.

A Standard Bible Dictionary. Edited by Melancthon W. Jacobus, Edward E. Nourse, and Andrew C. Zenos. New York: Funk and Wagnalls, 1909. Pp. xxiv+920. \$6.00.

The public has long waited for a concise and reliable Bible dictionary at a moderate price, based upon the principles and incorporating the results of modern scholarship. Two such works now present their claims for consideration. Comparisons are odious, but none the less inevitable.

Both dictionaries pride themselves on being "modern" in spirit and method and both make their appeal primarily to the general public rather than to ministers and scholars. Both likewise for the first time attach the name of its author to every article. The Hastings volume presents much the larger amount of subject-matter. This advantage is due not only to its larger number of pages, but also to the smaller size of type it employs —a type so small as to constitute a serious objection in a popular book. On the other hand, the Standard volume presents three hundred excellent illustrations and eleven colored maps; while Hastings offers only four maps and no illustrations—a decided weakness. Again, there is a marked difference in the number of contributors, Hastings having one hundred and five, but the Standard only thirty-six. Not only so, but the bulk of the latter volume is written by the three editors themselves. This has its advantage, in that it secures greater uniformity in the spirit and content of the articles; but likewise its disadvantage, in that it makes the chief writers responsible for too large a portion of the field of biblical interpretation, so that they cannot speak as first-hand authorities. It is interesting to note that only eight writers are contributors to both dictionaries. The number of comparatively unknown names in the long list of Hastings is surprising and encouraging, for it reveals a wider and more intelligent interest in biblical study than might otherwise be supposed. The character of their work is for the most part distinctly high and suffers little, if any, by comparison with that of the better known scholars. The general point of view is the same in both dictionaries. The attitude of the Hastings volume is

thus formulated: "It is abreast of the average scholarship of its day. There are many reasons why a dictionary of the Bible should not take up an extreme position on either side." The Standard's platform runs thus: "The critical position to which such a dictionary is necessarily committed must be one of acceptance of the proved facts of modern scholarship, of open-mindedness toward its still-debated problems, and of conservation of the fundamental truths of the Christianity proclaimed and established in the message and mission of Jesus Christ." The apportionment of the space among the subjects, a very difficult task, is for the most part admirable in both volumes. One wonders, however, why the Standard makes "Palestine" its most conspicuous article, giving it fifty-eight columns, whereas "Jesus Christ" has only thirty-five, "Prophecy" is limited to eight, and "God" to six. "Terusalem," too, receives twenty-one columns as over against thirteen for the larger and more important theme, "History of Israel." We are nevertheless glad to have two such excellent articles on Palestine and its capital by Professors Guthe and Paton, each a well-known authority on his topic.

In the Standard Dictionary the Old Testament work is done chiefly by Professors A. C. Zenos, E. E. Nourse, A. S. Carrier, G. B. Gray, Eduard König, J. F. McCurdy, S. R. Driver, and W. Nowack. To the last named belong the articles on archaeological subjects, and they constitute one of the strongest features of the work. No better hand than that of Driver could have been selected to do "Aramaic Language," "Jeremiah," and "Chronicles" for a work of this character. McCurdy is responsible for "History of Israel," "Semitic Religion," and all larger themes pertaining to Assyria and Babylonia. His well-known caution and learning find fitting expression in these fields where he is so pre-eminently at home. Ouestions of introduction are treated chiefly by E. E. Nourse and A. C. Zenos, who follow the lead of such scholars as Driver, König, A. B. Davidson, and Geo. Adam Smith. The weakest feature in the treatment of the old Testament is probably found in the theological articles. Here the historical and comparative method and spirit do not find free play, nor is the amount of space assigned to these themes adequate to their prime significance. Sanity, however, prevails throughout this part of the work and the teacher who follows the guidance of these leaders will certainly find himself following in the footsteps of a large number of highly esteemed scholars. A valuable feature in connection with the more important articles is the citation of the most significant books upon the subject in hand. But why refer to so many German books in a popular Bible dictionary?

References to literature are almost wholly lacking in the Hasting's Dictionary. Pressure upon space crowded them out. Compression has had its perfect work here; fulness, compactness, and solidity are stamped upon every page. The very appearance of the book with its closely crowded columns warns one that the reading of it will be a serious enterprise. The most extensive and comprehensive Old Testament article, that on the History of Israel, forty-nine columns long, is written by Professor G. A. Barton of Bryn Mawr, well known to readers of the Biblical World. The historical articles dealing with the lesser nations surrounding Israel are also assigned to him. Assyrian and Babylonian history and topics connected therewith are done chiefly by C. H. W. Johns, of Cambridge, one of the best English Assyriologists. A valuable article on the Greek Versions of the Old Testament is contributed by F. G. Kenyon, of the British Museum, and the related subject "Text and Versions of the Old Testament" is well done by G. B. Gray, of Mansfield College, Oxford. He also does the two important articles on Isaiah and Psalms. Archaeological matters are handled principally by A. R. S. Kennedy, of Edinburgh. Palestinian geography is cared for chiefly by R. A. Stewart Macalister, field director of the Palestine Exporation Fund's activities. F. L. Griffith is responsible for Egypt and its interests. Prophecy is given a fourteen-column treatment by W. T. Davison. The article on Moses is written by A. H. McNeile, best known by his introduction to Ecclesiastes, the article upon which he also writes. E. A. Edghill, author of a recent book on the Evidential Value of Prophecy, has prepared the article on the Hexateuch. These names are representative of the character of the Old Testament contributors to this volume and are in themselves a guarantee of good, reliable work. For the most part they represent a critical and historical attitude somewhat in advance of that taken by the editors and contributors on the Standard's list. But the difference between the two is surprisingly slight. Both sets of writers have kept well in mind the needs and capacities of the people for whom these volumes are intended and have adapted themselves admirably to the situation.

In the New Testament field the two volumes when compared show characteristics similar to those already observed. The editor-in-chief of the *Standard* has written nearly all the articles on introduction, while the general subjects of history and interpretation have been cared for by his associates. A few items of importance have been intrusted to outsiders. "Jesus Christ" and "Paul" are written by Denney, of Glasgow, "Miracles" is by Sanday, of Oxford, "New Testament Canon" by von Dobschütz, of Strassburg, and "Sermon on the Mount" by Ropes, of Harvard. On the more distinctly theological subjects Mackenzie of Hartford is the principal

contributor. The *Hastings* has called into service a larger number of writers, but many of them are little known especially to American readers. As a rule, however, they have performed their assigned tasks creditably. The conservative character of the theological work has been assured by having the chief articles written by the well-known Scotch apologist, Orr.

Each dictionary includes some subjects that do not fall strictly within the limits of what is demanded in a popular work, but this broadening of the scope is helpful. Thumb writes briefly for the Standard upon "Hellenistic and Biblical Greek." In Hastings the topic receives broader and more popular handling in "Language of the New Testament" by J. H. Moulton, "Language of Christ," by Gwilliam, and "Papyrus and Ostraca," by Deissmann. There is a short article on the Greek text of the New Testament by von Dobschütz in the Standard, and a longer and more technical discussion by Kenyon in the Hastings. The latter also gives an independent treatment to several topics which the other dictionary entirely omits, or dismisses with a cross-reference. Some of these are "Genealogy of Jesus Christ," "Josephus," "Person of Christ," "Exorcism," "Parousia." To a less extent the Standard also has material peculiar to itself, for instance "Sermon on the Mount."

There seem to be some slight defects in matters of detail. It is usual to expect strict alphabetical arrangement in dictionary entries, and it would not be strange if some inconvenience resulted from the *Hastings* order: "John the Baptist," John the Apostle," "John, Gospel of," "John, Epistles of." A few typographical errors have escaped the proofreader. But on the whole each set of editors is to be congratulated upon the successful issue of their undertaking. In the domain of archaeology and history they have presented information well abreast of the times, but in showing the bearing of this upon theological and traditional opinions there is a very decided reserve. Perhaps no other course would have been compatible with the intention of meeting the needs of a variety of general readers. Within these limits the two books stand upon about the same level. The chief difference between them is in their relative bulks, the *Standard* containing only about two thirds as much printed matter as the *Hastings*. To some this may seem a disadvantage, while others may regard it a desirable feature.

JOHN MERLIN POWIS SMITH SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

New Literature

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

Dummelow, J. R. A Commentary on the Holy Bible, by Various Writers. Complete in one volume, with general articles and maps. New York: Macmillan, 1909. pp. cliii+1092. \$2.50.

A commentary especially written to meet the wants of the ordinary Bible reader. The Editor has had the assistance of forty-two scholars in the preparation of the work, though no commentator's name is attached to his especial work. Among these interpreters are the Americans E. L. Curtis, Kent, McFadyen, Paton, G. L. Robinson, F. K. Sanders, and J. H. Ropes, and such English scholars as Peake, W. T. Davison, W. J. Moulton, Wade, Adeney, Plummer, and Colonel Conder. The point of view is that of the historical school, but the application of the historical method is quite conservative and restrained.

Box, G. H. A Short Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament. [Oxford Church Textbooks.] New York: E. S. Gorham, 1909, pp. v+143. \$0.25.

A convenient and concise summary of the main conclusions of biblical scholarship, and a booklet admirably suited to the needs of an intelligent layman.

MARGOLIS, MAX L. Micah. [The Holy Scriptures with Commentary.] Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1908. Pp. 104.

Significant as the first volume of a series of commentaries on the books of the Holy Scriptures by Jewish scholars. A new translation is presented, the text is analyzed and provided with topical headings and arranged in poetical form, and brief interpretative notes are subjoined. A series of eight more extended notes is attached at the end. Special use is made of the writings of the rabbinical expositors. The series is intended primarily for the general Jewish public; hence all technicalities are eliminated. Professor Margolis' name is a guarantee of the high quality of the scholarship at the basis of this volume. But his attitude toward the textual and the historical criticism is unexpectedly timid. The text of Micah needs much correction, but receives little. The unity of the book is here maintained, though surrendered by practically all recent commentators. Such a simple and convenient commentary should find wide sale among the author's coreligionists.

COOK, S. A. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Second Millennium B.C., in the Light of Archaeology and the Inscriptions. [Religions: Ancient and Modern.] London: Constable, 1908. Pp. 122.

This handy and cheap summary by a competent authority should receive a hearty welcome. Here we learn something of the religion of the Canaanites dispossessed by Joshua and his successors.

GREGG, J. A. F. The Wisdom of Solomon. In the Revised Version, with Introduction and Notes. Cambridge: The University Press, 1909. Pp. lxi+192. 2s. 6d.

Duncan, J. G. The Exploration of Egypt and the Old Testament. Chicago: F. H. Revell, 1909. Pp. 248. \$1.50.

A beautifully illustrated and popular summary of the results of modern explorations, excavation, and decipherment in Egypt, in so far as it affects Old Testament interpretation. The author's attitude toward Old Testament criticism is very cautious, and he exhibits much dependence upon his teacher, Professor Petrie, though he does not follow him altogether blindly.

NEW TESTAMENT

BOOKS

BACON, B. W. The Beginnings of Gospel Story. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1909. Pp. 279. \$2.25.

This book is designed to be a popular yet rigorously critical commentary on Mark, with especial reference to an inquiry into its sources and structure. Professor Bacon concludes that our evangelist (R) has used the ancient common source of Matthew and Luke (Q), to embellish and supplement an earlier and simpler narrative, which, not from tradition only, but from its intrinsic characteristics, we may properly designate as Petrine (P). Mark was written in Rome, between 70 and 75 A.D.

GREEN, S. W. The Gospel According to Mark. With Introduction and Notes. (The Westminster New Testament.) New York: F. H. Revell Co., 1909. Pp. v+245. 75 cents.

We continue to regret the use of the Authorized Version in these convenient and attractive little volumes. Green holds Mark to have been written not long before 70 A.D., probably at Rome, by some follower of Peter, probably John Mark. He recognizes its use by the other synoptic writers. The notes are, in general, intelligently conservative. There is a good map and an index. A table of contents and a list of Old Testament quotations might well have been supplied.

SOUTH, E. WILTON. St. Luke: The Revised Version. Edited with Introduction and Notes for the use of Schools. With two maps. Cambridge: University Press, 1908. Imported by Putnam's. Pp. xxiv+150. 50 cents.

South's introduction and notes are intelligent and helpful; naturally nothing very critical or advanced is undertaken in a work of this grade. He holds the Third Gospel to have been written by Luke the physician, 75–80 A.D. The positions taken in the notes are generally conservative. There is a good index, and the maps are of remarkable excellence. A list of Old Testament quotations might have been added.

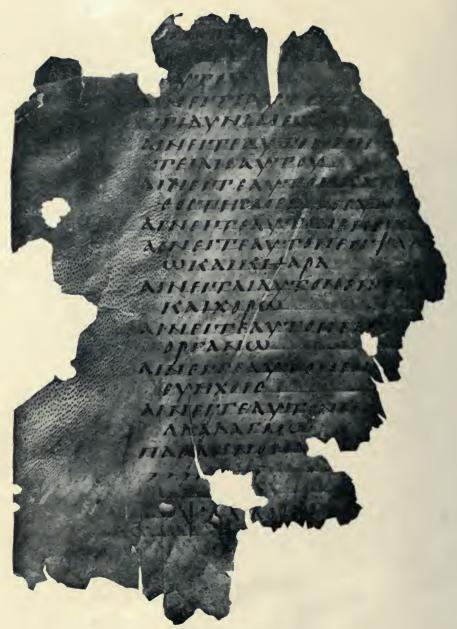
RAMSAY, W. M. Luke the Physician, and Other Studies in the History of Religion. With 38 illustrations. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1908. Pp. xiv+418. \$3.

This collection of essays and reviews, old and new, from the pen of Sir William Ramsay, begins with a review of Harnack's *Luke, The Physician*, from which it takes its name. These papers have appeared in various English journals in the course of the past thirty years, and are now collected and reprinted, with some modifications. They form a rather miscellaneous collection, those dealing with Lycaonia in the fourth century probably carrying most weight. The illustrations are admirable.

McFadyen, John E. The Epistles to the Corinthians and Galatians. (Interpreter's Commentary, Vol. VI.) New York: A. S. Barnes & Co., 1909. Pp. 266. \$1.50.

The commentaries of Lyman Abbott on the gospels, Acts, and Romans, first published 1875–88, are now continued in this volume, published under the joint general editorship of Dr. Abbott and Professor McFadyen. The Corinthian letters are assigned, though not positively, to 57 A.D. McFadyen inclines to the view that our I Cor. is the painful letter referred to in II Cor., and that II Cor. is one epistle, not a combination of two or more. Galatians he holds to have been written probably about 55 A.D., which view practically implies the acceptance of its North-Galatian destination. The notes are copious and skilfully wrought into a continuous expanded paraphrase. The use of the Authorized Version, even to its printing of each verse as a paragraph, is unfortunate.





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Editorial

CRITICAL SCHOLARSHIP IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

The appearance of the two single-volume Dictionaries of the Bible, the *Hastings* and the *Standard*, which were reviewed in the April number of the *Biblical World*, is of peculiar significance for the new movement in religious education. It is generally admitted today that the old Sunday-school method of pious exhortation, with greater or less reference to a biblical passage, very seldom correctly interpreted, in which the emphasis was upon the number of practical lessons that could be drawn, is utterly inadequate and unsatisfactory. It is wanting in the intellectual element which is essential to make the Sunday school worthy of the respect of the scholars. It fails to do justice to the great literature which it ostensibly undertakes to interpret, with the result that the Bible is a meaningless book to the majority of people. It defeats its own practical purpose, for it is unable to realize the great lessons which this literature of the master religious spirits presents.

The alternative to hortatory teaching has seemed to be critical teaching. How many classes led by earnest teachers who are trying to be abreast of the times, are laboriously working over problems of date, and authorship, and composition of books; probability of miracles; historicity of recorded events; systems of chronology, etc.! And the result of this study of literary anatomy has been to learn something of the skeleton of the literature, but nothing of its heart and life.

The study in the Sunday school must be practical, for what shall it profit a man if he gain the whole world of scholarship and lose the impulse of life? And it must be critical. We must know what the literature is, and what it means, if self-respecting students are to derive any religious help from it. Many an earnest soul has been asking, Is it not possible to get away from controversy and to derive from the Scriptures that ethical and religious power that we need? The appearance of these Dictionaries indicates that there is no necessity for controversy in biblical teaching. The scholarship of a century has reached a point where it can present to the Sunday schools and to the laity its assured results. Differences of opinion, of course, will always exist upon many details, but the point of view, which is the essential thing, is practically agreed upon.

THE CONSENSUS OF CHRISTIAN SCHOLARSHIP

The articles in these two Dictionaries have been prepared by 141 scholars. These represent nearly all the denominations of Christians. They are among the leaders in biblical learning. Many of them are as well known for their evangelical zeal, and their religious earnestness, as for their scholarship. And yet, with many differences in detail, they reach essentially the same critical point of view. The approach to the study of this oriental book, the method by which the experiences of these men of the spirit of the Hebrew past is made real to the world of today, the attitude toward the various literary and historical questions, is essentially the same with all the contributors to these Dictionaries. There is no need for controversy. The Sunday-school teacher may, without any trepidation of soul, consult one of these works with the feeling that he will have his questions regarding any portion of the Scripture frankly answered by what may be called practically the consensus of modern scholarship.

This means that a great many things may be taken for granted. The second part of Isaiah may be studied in connection with the close of the Babylonian captivity; the Book of Jonah, like the parable of the Prodigal, may be appreciated as a noble example of the literature of purposeful story; the early chapters of Genesis may have their rich meaning as "symbolic history."

THE AVAILABILITY OF SCHOLARLY RESULTS

This is a good day for the teacher who, though not technically trained in biblical study, is earnest to do his best. It is not so long ago since he was greatly confused by discordant voices, and the bugbear of higher criticism was his dismay. And with some show of

reason it was ironically asked, whether a Christian who would like to read his Bible must wait until the higher critics told him what to believe.

Nobody has any authority to tell us what to believe. But every science must have its experts. Piety cannot settle the meaning of an oriental literature. If it be that religion is to be nourished on this literature that comes from the far past, that the new West is still to learn from the old East, that our spiritual experiences are to be kindled by those of prophets, sages, psalmists, apostles, and the Son of man, whose religious experiences developed in an utterly different environment from our own, then we must know that past, we must understand that East, we must company with those men of that other day. And an expert must interpret for the layman. Not that the higher critic is to be a new pope; but the biblical scholar is to be a pilot. He is not to demand obedience, but he is to open a way. It is not an *ipse dixit*; it is a "sweet reasonableness."

The layman may make use of one of these Dictionaries, not with the feeling that he must accept everything that is there printed, but with the confidence that he has access to the generally received opinion of biblical experts. He will find the reasons for that opinion expressed in non-technical language; he will form his own judgment. Experience shows that, in the vast majority of cases, the unprejudiced layman who adopts such a course finds himself very soon in substantial agreement with the expert.

THE OPPORTUNITY OF THE ORDINARY TEACHER

Here, then, is the opportunity for the ordinary teacher. No intelligent man or woman need plead inability to understand the Bible. Let one undertake the study of any single book, and ask all the questions that naturally occur to a reasonable person: Who wrote this book? When was it written? Why was it written? What is it about? What kind of people are these? What were their customs? Where did they live? Why did they need this writing to be addressed to them? What are these various allusions? What are these institutions to which reference is made? and so on. Let him ask all the questions that he can think of. A little practice will enable him so to use his Dictionary that he can find the answer to all of them.

The old book will begin to be instinct with meaning. The local color will give it picturesque interest. The heart will be stirred and warmed as it begins to realize the ethical passion that burned in the oriental soul long ago. The meaning of that message to that day will begin to be clear, and as the student reads, and thinks, and prays, the meaning to his own soul, and to his own day, will begin to appear. And he will have the experience that comes to every earnest, thorough student of this matchless literature, that it is inspired, and inspiring, a literature of power.

It cannot be too strongly emphasized that the biblical expert never claims that he is the authoritative interpreter of Scripture. But he knows that an ancient literature, written in an alien tongue, coming from a people far removed from his own social life in habits of thought, in customs and institutions, demands the most painstaking scholarship to make it real to the modern world. He simply hands over to the layman the result of his linguistic, literary, historical, archaeological investigations, and says to him, Here are the words, the dress, the environment, the social conditions, the local color, of this old literature; understand it with the help of these, and let it bring its own message to your own soul. So the ordinary teacher is not dependent upon ready-made lesson-helps which may be mere crutches. He formulates his own questions, and the scholarly Dictionary answers them. He is developed in independent thinking, and he brings to his class the rich result of his thoughtful study.

A NEW GENERATION OF BIBLE STUDENTS

So we may hope to see a new generation of Bible students. Some of us with great pain and struggle of soul have come out of the old conceptions of the Bible, with which we supposed our faith was bound up, into the larger view of this great human literature that is so divine, this divine literature that is so human. But the students of tomorrow need pass through no such agony. If, for example, the first time the Book of Deuteronomy is studied it is found to be a noble piece of oratorical literature, in which the developed laws and customs of the Israel of the seventh century are expressed in the magnificent form of the valedictory orations of the great lawgiver, then this will naturally seem to be the book that was brought to Josiah from the temple.

The student will realize from the beginning that he is studying an evolution of institutions, of literature, and of life. Everything will fall into its proper place: the naturalness of the written ceremonial law after the technique of the temple had ceased; the ecclesiasticism following on the discredited monarchy; the Psalms, the song-book of the second temple; the Apocalypse of Daniel, the splendid optimis tic message in the Antiochan persecution; the gospels, the natural growth of the oral story of Jesus; the epistles, specifically concerned with immediate situations; the Revelation, the vision of hope to the martyrs; and with all this background, the passion and faith of the prophets and of Jesus as the great contribution to the religious life of today.

It would be difficult to overestimate the spiritual results which must come from this new appreciation of the Bible.

JESUS' ATTITUDE TOWARD CHURCH AND STATE

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The change in conception, or, at least, in proportion and emphasis, concerning the contribution which Jesus Christ made to the moral and spiritual welfare of the world is concentrating attention upon questions such as that expressed in the title of this paper. Our generation is not so much interested as earlier generations were in the questions: What did Jesus Christ do to placate the wrath of God against sinners, or to satisfy the divine justice? How can we make his sacrifice avail for our redemption from eternal damnation? relation of his unique person with the Godhead and his connection with the creation and government of the universe are subjects which are either ignored or discussed only in lecture-rooms and with somewhat languid interest. But Jesus, the Christ, the man who lived and taught and wrought his works of mercy in Galilee, and died on the cross at Jerusalem, is of perennial and constantly increasing interest to all men who are striving as he strove, to make human life happier, better, and more divine.

Men are coming to realize more fully, too, that the Christian conception of human life is of life in a community. Saving one's own soul, or saving other people's souls, can hardly be isolated and discussed by itself. The solemn and sublime conception of a soul alone with God, responsible to him only, and, with the world shut out, communing exclusively with him, does not impress itself upon the imagination as it once did. We do not think as vividly as our fathers did of God, or of our Lord Jesus Christ, enthroned in heaven above, looking down on the children of men, and so ordering or changing the operations of nature or of grace, as to bless and cheer this soul, or to discipline or punish that soul. We think of God in the world's order, in the social system, revealing himself to us, and teaching and guiding us through the community in which we live. And when we ask: What has Jesus, in whom God dwelt supremely, done for our redemption? our question often means: What has he done for

the redemption of human society? not: How does he save our individual souls from the evil of this present world? but: How does he teach and help us to redeem the world from its evil?

It is plain that we cannot answer this question without seeking to apprehend as clearly as possible the relation which Jesus took, not simply to the individuals whom he sought to help by his counsel and strength, but to the institutions of human society amid which he lived.

We know fairly well what those institutions were, and what attitude serious and thoughtful people, among whom Jesus was born and lived, held toward those institutions. Palestine was a part of the Roman Empire which imposed taxes, preserved order, guarded the country against insurrection or invasion, and, in general, controlled the civil administration. In Galilee, where Jesus spent the greater part of his life, this government was exercised by a son of Herod the Great, appointed to his office and sustained in his administration by Rome. In Judaea, this power was more directly exercised by a Roman procurator. But, according to the Roman policy in dealing with conquered and dependent provinces, the institutions which existed when the country was conquered and absorbed were permitted to continue and to exercise their functions, so far as this was consistent with the supreme control from Rome. There were, therefore. local courts, judges, and constables, and the great court at Jerusalem, consisting of Jews and administering Jewish law. Moreover, the Jewish people constituted a church, with priests and a cultus, with its sacred books, its body of doctrine, its appointed places, times, and means for worship and religious instruction. These facts are familiar to all, and are mentioned only to prepare the way for the question: What was Jesus' attitude toward the civil and ecclesiastical institutions into which he was born and in which he spent his life? Did he conform to them, did he approve them, or did he condemn and seek to change them?

If we attempt to answer this question by direct appeal to the recorded words and acts of Jesus we shall find it difficult if not impossible to give a confident answer. Our records of the words of Jesus and of events in his life are, in the first place exceedingly meager. Tatian's Diatessaron, which combines the four gospels, excluding, so far as Tatian discovered them, parallel passages, eovers less than

ninety pages in the Ante-Nicene Library, whereas the three genuine works of Justin Martyr cover more than one hundred in the same series; and eight selected sermons published in the seventh volume of Dr. Dwight's edition of Edwards' Works, take almost two hundred pages. Jonathan Edwards uttered in three Sundays more words than we have in all our gospels. Jesus lived for more than thirty years. We cannot doubt that from his early youth he uttered words of wisdom upon various relations and duties in life. One story, rescued from the silence of his childhood and youth, reveals insight and power which must often have found expression. When we ask: What was Jesus' attitude toward the civil and ecclesiastical institutions of his time and country? we are compelled to admit that we have little data for forming an opinion, and that such suggestions as we find in the gospels, might be much modified, if we had fuller reports.

Moreover, the records which we possess were not compiled until many years after Jesus had left the earth. They were composed probably in places far distant from Palestine, by writers who had slight interest in the Jewish state or church. In reporting the words of Jesus, and incidents in his life, they do not always agree one with the other, and they reveal slight knowledge of the times and places in which significant words were uttered or the circumstances or context in which they were spoken.

Recognizing the limitation under which we must prosecute our inquiry we may still hope to find some light thrown upon the question before us. There are some important features with regard to Jesus' attitude toward the institutions under which his life was spent, which seem entirely clear.

In the first place, he was not a revolutionist or iconoclast. There is no word or deed in the stories of his life which even remotely suggests this purpose or temper of mind, and everything in the record, which bears upon the question at all, indicates the contrary. His influence, so far as it can be traced, supported the spirit of quiet submission to the powers that be. Though he claimed to be the Messiah who was to redeem Israel, and accepted the title of the Son of David, he never encouraged a spirit of rebellion against the Roman government, and he never predicted its overthrow, so far as we have evidence. No zealous, patriotic Pharisee could ever attach himself

to Jesus with the hope that he might lead his followers to successful conflict with Rome and to the establishment of the political independence or supremacy of Israel. He instructed his followers, when required to go a mile with a courier to go two miles; he commanded his fellow-countrymen to pay tribute to Caesar so long as they made use of Caesar's coinage; he criticized the character of Herod Antipas, but he did not attack his government; he submitted to Pilate without raising the question of his right to sit upon the judgment seat.

The same is true of his relation with the subordinate Jewish government, so far as it had authority. He could say with all sincerity: I came not to destroy the law but to fulfil it, and he shows by various illustrations that the law becomes more imperative and searching under his interpretation. His demeanor as a citizen of Galilee was quiet, circumspect, respectful to the rulers of the synagogue. He sometimes exposed their faults and reproved them, but he never denied their right to exercise their official functions. He is reported to have said to his Jewish fellow-citizens, when most severely rebuking the scribes and Pharisees who held at least a semi-official position: "They sit on Moses' seat; all things therefore whatsoever they bid you, these do and observe." If these are not precisely the words which he uttered they record the impression which his life and teaching made, for they maintained their place in the tradition long after they had ceased to be of immediate significance. When Jesus was brought before the highest Jewish tribunal to be adjudged guilty of death, he showed no want of respect for the court. Various motives may have combined to make him submissive to this unjust and cruel judgment, but, taken with expressions which fell from his lips, and his attitude in general, it seems to spring, in part at least, from respect for duly constituted authorities.

The same attitude and temper of mind appear in Jesus' treatment of ecclesiastical rules and customs, so far as these can be distinguished from civil institutions in the administration of Jewish law. Jesus seems to have been punctilious in attending the service and instruction of the synagogue; he went to the temple at Jerusalem to the great religious festivals: apparently he kept the Sabbath, as prescribed in the law, he never annulled or condemned the rite of circumcision, nor, so far as appears, the legal distinctions between the clean and unclean.

So strict and faithful had his life been, as a member of the Jewish commonwealth and the Jewish church, that his enemies found it exceedingly difficult to find a charge which would hold against him, and finally had to resort to false, or at least, perverted witnesses. After Jesus had closed his life, Peter and the other disciples had no idea that Jewish law had been abolished or restricted, and while he lay in his tomb the women who had followed him and learned his ways, "rested the sabbath day, according to the commandment." Yet there was another side to Jesus' teaching and example, and, while the simple-minded disciples may not have discovered it, the keen-sighted Jewish leaders who rejected and condemned him saw it clearly. It was not in his treatment of any specific laws or institutions or officers of either civil or ecclesiastical government. It was rather in his estimate of the relative value of government and the governed, of institutions and of men.

He laid a supreme emphasis upon the value of the human soul, which, if consistently carried out is sure, sooner or later, seriously to modify or to disintegrate any body of established customs and laws. The tendency of government, in either state or church, is to exalt law above individual human interests; and the man who affirms the supreme value of the individual soul and the equal value of all souls before God, may be a very quiet and orderly man, but he threatens the stability of any strong and inelastic government. Abraham Lincoln might proclaim with all emphasis and all sincerity, that he stood for the Constitution and for the faithful execution of the laws, including even the fugitive-slave law, but the advocates of slavery, though their institution was guarded by the Constitution and the laws, knew perfectly well that the advocacy of the principle that all men were equal before God, must destroy their cherished institution. The American missionaries in Turkey may obey every law of the Ottoman government and may teach obedience to their converts, but the Sultan knows that if the missionary teaches his subjects to think their own thoughts and value their own souls, his autocratic government cannot be maintained. The Roman Catholic priest may regard himself as a loyal and affectionate son of Holy Church, while he questions the creeds and teaches his people to think for themselves, but the Holy Father sees clearly that that attitude of mind will sooner or later shake the ecclesiastical system from turret to foundation. Jesus did not discuss the requirements of the Jewish law as Paul did, but in his proclamation of the fatherhood of God and the equal value of souls before God, he laid the foundation of Paul's repudiation of the specific institutes of the law. Indeed, he sometimes came very near proclaiming the Pauline inference. When he repudiates the binding force of pharisaic tradition, he rejects what serious and thoughtful Pharisees had found necessary to secure obedience to the law; when he proclaims that God wishes for mercy and not sacrifice, and when he appeals from the Mosaic law back to the underlying will and love of God, he is sowing seeds whose growth will shatter the law, as a growing vine will absorb the mortar and disintegrate the wall over which it spreads its luxuriant branches. There is nothing more destructive of fixed and rigid systems than vigorous life. Jesus came that men might have life and have it abundantly and in ministering to that life he imperiled the existing institutions of his country and his age, and all institutions of church or state, which cannot submit to the growth and change which free and intelligent life demands.

But, further, Jesus taught a doctrine of social life which must shatter or change all established organizations. "Thou shalt love the Lord with all thy heart, and thy neighbor as thyself," is not consistent with the permanence of a monarchical or aristocratic government, either in the state or the church. This fundamental principle of Christianity, upon which all the law and the prophets rest, as the Founder of Christianity taught, may enter any society and begin to exert its influence within any conceivable political, industrial, or ecclesiastical system. It does not demand that the way be prepared for it by a wise or just reorganization of society, and it sometimes develops in beautiful and fruitful forms under the shadow of absolutism and tyranny. But it cannot be generally accepted and practiced without resolving the society in which it lives and flourishes into a democracy in spirit if not in form. A benevolent despotism, if such a thing ever exists, must destroy itself. It develops a society in which not only the good of all is sought, but in which, also, each member is seeking the good of all, and that is the spirit of a true democracy. There must be freedom for service, and that involves the freedom

of each member of the society to find and hold the place in which he can render the largest service. Rigid laws, unyielding creeds, fixed orders in the social system cannot maintain themselves in a community where universal love prevails. And Jesus Christ, while he lived in gentle and peaceful submission to a foreign government, and yielded respect and obedience to the rulers of his own people, and faithfully observed the institutions of the religion in which he was born and reared, was planting and cultivating in the hearts of the humble people whom he taught and inspired with new views of God and duty, a principle which must wreck the exclusive church to which he belonged and break down the barriers with which lawgivers and leaders had hedged in that peculiar people, and nursed and stimulated their patriotism and their pride; and which must go beyond that and dissolve the mighty Roman Empire and change the conception of society and government in all the world. Jesus said little or nothing about this, so far as we can learn; how fully it defined itself in his own thought or formed a part of his conscious mission we cannot know, but the fruitful germ of a new social life was in his teaching, and, after these centuries, we can now see what that was, and how irresistibly it must transform the whole order of society.

Jesus often spoke of the kingdom of God, and the conception expressed in these words pervaded his teaching and, doubtless, influenced profoundly his own attitude toward the organizations of the society in which he lived. From the limited and imperfect record of his teaching preserved for us, it is difficult to determine his conception of the form which this kingdom would assume. There is some uncertainty as to whether he thought of it as already present in his ministry, or as a blessing deferred to the future; as destined to develop mainly through the quiet growth of universal love, which he had implanted in human society, or to come suddenly in a cataclysm; whether it would displace the organizations which it found in church and state, or exist simply as an imperium in imperio; whether it was coming immediately, within a generation, or might be long deferred; whether it was from the beginning universal, or was to begin its sway within a limited region. These, and similar questions we may not be able to answer. But we know that, in his conception, its controlling and formative principle was in this union, already considered

of the recognition of the dignity and worth of the soul, its right, therefore, to freedom for growth and service, and of the joyful duty of cultivating and practicing universal and impartial love. It is plain, therefore, that the kingdom of God, however or whenever it may come, and whatever attitude it may take toward the world's order which it finds, must promote a true democracy in church and state, so far as church and state continue to exist.

In the report of the trial of Jesus given in the Fourth Gospel, he says to Pilate: "My kingdom is not of this world; if my kingdom were of this world, then would my servants fight, that I should not be delivered to the Jews." This argument seemed to Pilate conclusive. This Roman officer could see no possible danger threatening his government or the peace of his province in a man who simply said that he was a king and was establishing a kingdom, but had no army to support his claims; he therefore reported to the Jews: "I find no crime in him." But those Jewish leaders had clearer foresight than their Roman ruler. They knew that this quiet, gentle man, who had no arms or soldiers, and had no thought of supplying himself with these means by which earthly governments are secured and maintained, threatened their control and the order for which they stood, far more seriously than a Judas of Galilee with his armed insurrectionists.

When some devoted leader today teaches people to submit to hardship with cheerfulness and to injustice with patience, but to make the most possible of their own souls and to strengthen the bonds of ministering love which bind them together, he is preparing them to revolutionize the society in which they live far more certainly and radically than those who cultivate the sense of wrong and the spirit of resistance.

And what a Christ-like man does in his inferior measure, Jesus Christ is doing in his supreme measure. He is turning the world upside down, by that irresistible force which comes from cultivating the intelligence and character of those who seek to be members of his kingdom, and by binding them into the fellowship of universal love and service.

Our conclusion, then, is that Jesus was both a conformist and a nonconformist. He accepted and he taught his followers to accept the conditions under which they lived. He lived in communion with the religious order in which he was born and to which he was dedicated by his parents. He submitted to the rulers and the laws, even when they pronounced an unjust judgment and inflicted an unrighteous penalty. He excited no insurrection, he uttered no rebellious word. So far as the record of his teaching gives evidence, he did not instruct his disciples to organize another church or to reform or revolutionize the civil government. We are told that he assured Peter that upon the rock of his person or his confession he would build his church. But this assurance left no impression on Peter's mind or the minds of his fellow-disciples that they were to withdraw from the religious organization of the Jewish people. He predicted persecution and death for his followers at the hand of the government, but he made no suggestion that they should resist, or abandon their country. He and his followers belonged to the quiet in the land.

Yet he was inculcating views of life and principles of action which, if they were accepted and put in practice, must either radically transform or else disintegrate, the civil and religious organizations of the nation and the world. These forces have been operative on the earth for many years. They have revealed their nature and proved their power; but it may be many a century yet before they convert the world or even the church of Christ into that perfect, spiritual democracy for which we pray whenever we say: "Thy kingdom come."

PARABLES OUTSIDE THE GOSPELS

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The parables of Jesus are so unique that they form a class by themselves. After reading these, one hesitates to call anything a parable which does not come up to their standard, and yet parables exist in other religious literatures, though they do not approach in excellence those of the gospels.

To begin at the farthest remove, we hear of parables in Buddhism. Rudolf Seydel in his Das Evangelium von Jesu in seinen Verhältnissen zu Buddha-Sage und Buddha Lehre devotes pp. 223-33 to parables, showing how in the Buddhistic books there are comparisons to light and darkness, to the sun, to water, rain, fire, plants, trees, grass, mustard seed, jewels, pearls, treasures, sand, lamps, gates, a way, the blind and blindness, sowers and husbandmen. K. E. Neumann in his two volumes, Die Reden Gotamo Buddho's aus der mittlern Sammlung Majhimanikayo des Pali-Kanons, 1895, 1896, calls attention by means of an index of "Gleichnisse," in each volume, to comparisons which touch more than one hundred and twenty-five different subjects. Neumann knows Pali well, which, I am informed, Seydel did not. In many cases, however, in so far as the material presented by both writers goes, there are few parables here, but many similes. Such is the following which Seydel cites from an inscription of king Asôka:

As a man who has trusted his child to a protecting nurse is without uneasiness and says "A protecting nurse watches my child," so have I set royal officers for the welfare and prosperity of the land.

This is really not a parable but an extended simile. The following approaches the parable a little more closely, though it still falls short of it:

Faith is the seed; penitence is the rain; insight is my yoke and my plough; modesty is the plough's beam; understanding is the cord; deep thought the ploughshare and the goad.

In Neumann's great work there are a number of parables of varying excellence. Such, for example, is the parable of the Crab

(Vol. I, p. 370), and the parable of the Shameless Maid (*ibid.*, 208–10). Of all these parables, the parable of the Prodigal Son is the most noteworthy. It runs as follows:

A son, removing himself from his father's house, had miserably to seek ha sustenance in a foreign land. Meantime his father had attained to higher dignity and to great wealth and had moved to another country. The son, coming in his struggling wandering upon the residence of his father thus altered, and finding his father among princely associates, did not recognize him; he feared him and fled. The father looking upon him after an absence of fifty years, knew him, and had him brought back by force. Remembering his dignity and his son's lowly manner of thought, he did not permit the son to know him, but hired him at double his former wages to clear up a place where rubbish and dirt were collected. There he dwelt in a straw hut on his father's land, who through a window watched him at his work. Soon the father sought him out, having put on simple clothes like his own, and sought to gain his confidence. He said to him: "Good day, my man, look upon me as thy father. Thy work is without fault, not like that of the other servants. Thou art in my eyes as my beloved son." The son continued to serve the house of the rich man for twenty years, while he continued to live in his hut. When the father felt his end approaching he offered the son the whole inheritance, though without ever having revealed himself to him. The son refused it. After he had thus tested him, the father declared the true relationship in the presence of the king, the ministers, the kinsfolk in a great assembly of the people: "This man is my beloved son; I am he who bears witness to him;" and gave over to him the inheritance.1

This is indeed a story, some few elements of which remind one of the Prodigal Son. It is easy, too, to see in it a parallel to the religion of some men. It is a real parable.

Herodotus in his *History* (i, 141) attributes the following parable to Cyrus the Great, king of Persia. After the overthrow of Croesus certain Ionians and Aeolians sent to Cyrus wishing to become allied with him on the same terms that had existed between them and Croesus. Cyrus thereupon told them this story:

A piper seeing some fishes in the sea, began to pipe, expecting that they would come to the shore; but finding his hopes disappointed, he took a casting-net, and with it inclosed a great number of fishes and drew them out. When he saw them leaping about he said to the fishes: "Cease your dancing, since when I piped to you you would not come out and dance."

Herodotus goes on to intimate that Cyrus illustrated by this

¹ I have given Seydel's summary of the parable. It is told with variations and with many embellishing details in *The Sacred Books of the East*, American ed. Vol. X, pp. 99 ff.

story the unwillingness of the Ionians and Aeolians to listen to him until they were compelled to, and the uselessness of trying to dictate terms to him then.

This example shows that the parable-like form of story was not unknown among the Persians. The Old Testament, the Talmud, and the Koran each contain parables of which I desire briefly to speak.

Before treating the Old Testament parables it is necessary to say a few words about the meaning of the term "parable." Our English word comes from two Greek words which meant "to throw alongside," and so indicated a comparison. The Hebrew root mil which signified "compare" or "comparison" has a much wider use than the word parable. It is used to designate proverbs, or brief gnomic comparisons. Thus the Hebrew name of the Book of Proverbs is Mashālim. These are by no means parables; it is the essence of a parable to contain a story. Kindred to this proverbial sense is the use of the word in Isa. 14:4; Mic. 2:4; Hab. 2:6. The root was also applied in its participial form to the singers of historical poems, as in Num. 21:27, and in its nominal form to poetical compositions on historical themes, as Ps. 78. It seems probable from the passage in Numbers and the bit of poetry quoted there, that there was a class of wandering bards in ancient Israel who devoted themselves to singing songs which celebrated the stirring events of national or tribal history, and that they were called "comparers" or "comparison-makers." From these and their work the custom of calling a historical poem a "comparison" survived till Ps. 78 was written. It is clear, however, that to translate the Hebrew mashal, "parable" in Ps. 78:2, as is done by both the Authorized and Revised versions, is misleading. It does not refer to a parable in the New Testament sense, but to a historical poem. Somewhat akin to this is the application of the word to the poems of Balaam in Num., chaps. 23 and 24—poems which sum up the hopes and destiny of a nation. In Ps. 40:4 the term mashal is used to describe a poem on the riddle or enigma of life, and, to translate it "parable" as our versions do, is misleading. The use of the word in Job 27:1 and 29:1 is kindred to its use in Ps. 49.

Again the Authorized Version, in its brief statement of subjects at the top of the page, called Jotham's story of how the trees of the

forest sought to choose a king in Judges, chap. 9, "Jotham's parable." The Revised Version, however, rightly recognizes that this is not a parable, but a fable. In parables the stories told are natural. Animals and trees are not made to talk as in fables, nor are improbabilities introduced. Out of the likeness of the features of a probable story to the matter in hand the parable teaches a lesson. The fable teaches its lesson by an improbable story, which is much more fantastic, since it violates the laws of nature. Jotham's story is clearly a fable, as is that of Jehoash in II Kings 14:9.

There are, nevertheless, a few real parables in the Old Testament. We may safely count as such Nathan's parable of the rich man with his flocks and the poor man with his ewe lamb in II Sam. 12:1-4. Joab's story invented for the woman of Tekoah (II Sam. 14:5-7); the story told by the wounded prophet to Ahab (I. Kings 20:39, 40); the beautiful poem on the vineyard (Isa. 5:1-6). These may be counted as real parables. They do not all of them, it is true, exhibit the high ethical teaching of the parables of Jesus, but they are real parables nevertheless. As remarked above, the parable in his hands became unique. Some scholars have classed Isa. 28:24-28 as a parable, but it hardly fulfils the conditions. It contains a comparison between the natural and spiritual worlds, but no story.

In Ezekiel 17:2 "parable" (i. e., mashal), is applied to the story of the eagle, which is really an allegory; but in 24:3-5 we have a description of a parabolic action, which like the comparison in Isa., chap. 28, approaches a parable, though hardly fulfilling its conditions.

In the Old Testament, then, we have, together with a broad use of the term to designate several other types of literary composition, a few real parables. These do not rise to the excellence of the New Testament parables either in literary form or in spiritual teaching; but nevertheless fulfil all the conditions of a parable.

In apocryphal literature the term is applied to long predictions and visions such as the "Parables" in Enoch, chaps. 38–70 and the similitudes or parables of the Shepherd of Hermas. These are, however, not real parables. In Hermas the term is applied to an allegorical vision in which the church appears to him as an aged woman visibly renewing her youth. In Enoch the allegorical elements of the visions are of the flimsiest texture and frequently vanish altogether.

The stories of Judith and of Jonah are allegorical or parabolic narratives, but cannot be classed as real parables.

Turning now to the Talmud, the following comparisons might be cited as parables with varying degrees of appropriateness. In Berakoth, 13a, where Jeremiah 23:7, 8 is under discussion—"There fore, behold, the days come, saith Jehovah, that they shall no more say, As Jehovah liveth, who brought up the children of Israel out of the land of Egypt; but, As Jehovah liveth, who brought up and who led the seed of the house of Israel out of the north country, and from all the countries whither I have driven them"—Rabbi Joseph introduces this *mashal*:

A man traveling along the road fell in with a wolf and was saved from him, and continually related the incident with the wolf. When he afterward fell in with a lion and was saved from him, he continually related the incident with the lion. But when finally he fell in with a serpent and was likewise saved from him, he then forgot the other two and forthwith related the incident with the serpent. So also with Israel; the later misfortunes bring the first into forgetfulness.

This is not a very wonderful parable, but it fulfils all the parabolic conditions. Again in Sabbath, 152b, where Eccl. 12:7 is discussed—"And the spirit returneth to God who gave it"—the following mashal is related in illustration:

A king of flesh and blood distributed among his servants royal vestments. The prudent folded them together and laid them in the chest, but the foolish performed their work in these. After a lapse of time the king desired his vestments again; the prudent gave them back to him spotless; the foolish gave them back to him soiled. Then the king rejoiced over the prudent, but with the foolish he was angry. Then he commanded concerning the prudent: "The vestments shall be brought to the treasure-chamber, and these may go home in peace;" concerning the foolish he commanded: "The vestments must go to be cleansed, and these shall be cast into prison."

This is a real parable. It was written to teach that the soul should go back to God as pure as it came from him. In Megilla, 15a, R. Eleazar says in the name of R. Haninas:

The pious man loses only his age. This is as when anyone loses a pearl; the pearl is still a pearl, only its owner has lost it.

This comparison, sometimes cited as a parable, is at most only a beautiful simile.

In Sanhedrin, 91a, where various discussions as to the resurrection are reported, a conversation between a heretic (Min, i. e., a

Christian) and Rabbi Ami is reported. The Min said: "You say that the dead will live again. But they will have become dust. How then shall dust live?" To which R. Ami replied: I will tell thee a parable:

A king of flesh and blood commanded his servants to build him a great palace in a place where there was neither water nor dust. They went and built it, and after a time it fell. He said to them, "Return and build it in a place where there is dust and water." They said to him "We are not able." He was angry with them and said to them: "In a place where there was neither water nor dust you built, how much more are you able where there is water and dust?"

If thou dost not believe, go into the valley and watch the mouse, which is today half flesh and half earth, and tomorrow has developed and is all flesh. Perhaps thou wilt say it is through length of time. Go to the mountain, and look. Today thou seest not one snail. Tomorrow the rains have fallen and the place is full of snails.

The only part of this utterance which can be called a parable is the story of the king's palace, and that story more of a fable than a parable. True, it does not make either animals or trees talk, but on the other hand its location of the king's palace cannot be considered probable. Its illustration of the point in hand, though real, grows out of an improbability.

Another passage, Aboda Zara, 4a, is often said to contain a parable. In order to obtain the setting the whole passage should be quoted. It is as follows:

Rabbi Abahu praised Rabbi Saphra to the Christians (Minim) as a great man. Thereupon they remitted to him thirteen years' taxes. One day they found him and said to him, "It is written, you only have I known of all the familiesof the earth, therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities. Would one who is angry vent it against his friend?" Then he was silent and did not answer them. They put a scarf about his neck and tortured [i. e., choked] him. R. Abahu came and asked them, "Why are you torturing him?" They answered,. "Didst thou not say that he is a great man, yet he does not know how to tell us theexplanation of this text." He said, "I said this of him as a Mishna-teacher. Who said it of him as a Scripture-teacher?" They said to him, "Why are ye different and know [how to explain the Scriptures]? He said, We who live in your midst give ourselves to it and examine [the Scriptures]. They (i. e., the Babylonians), do not examine them." They said, "Do thou tell us." He said, "I will make a parable for you. The thing is as if a man lends to two men, one his friend, and the other his enemy. He collects payment from his friend littleby little, but from his enemy all at once."

Clearly the parabolic element in this narrative is very small, consisting of but a sentence or two at the end, and these are not a parable: but a simple simile.

In Aboda Zara, 54b, the following narrative occurs:

A philosopher asked Rabban Gamaliel, "It is written in your Torah, For the Lord thy God is a consuming fire, a jealous God. Why is he incensed at the worshiper and not at the idol itself?" He answered, "I will make a parable for thee. This thing is like to a king of flesh and blood, who had a son. The son when he was grown secured a dog, to which he gave his father's name, and when he swore he would say, By the life of the dog, my father. When the king heard of it, with whom was he angry, the son or the dog? It was the son."

This is a complete little parable and a very apt one too. A little farther on in the same Talmudic discussion we find the following:

A worthless fellow said to Rabbi Aqiba, "You and I know in our hearts that foreign cults are meaningless, yet we see men who go out [to such shrines] broken, and they come back healed. What is the reason?" He answered, "I will make thee a parable concerning this. This is like the following: Once there was in a city an honorable man, and all the people of the city used to deposit their money with him for safe-keeping without witnesses. There was, however, one man who would only deposit his money before witnesses. But once he forgot and deposited his money for safe-keeping without witnesses. His fthe honest man's] wife said to him, 'Come, we will deny [that we have this]:' He said to her, 'If in my presence this one has acted foolishly, should I correspondingly lose my trustworthiness?' So is it with chastisements. When these are sent unto men, they are put under oath that they will not come except upon a specified day, and will not depart except upon a specified day and at a specified hour, and by a specified hand, and by the aid of a specified drug. When the appointed time for it to depart arrives, and this one goes to an idol's temple, the afflictions say: 'by good rights we should not go out, but shall we even retract our oaths because this fool has done wickedly."

This, like the preceding, is a real parable, and illustrates the point in hand.

Other Talmudic parables might be cited, but the above are sufficient to indicate their nature. An enthusiastic Jew has declared that "in Talmud and Midrash almost every religious idea, moral maxim, or ethical requirement is illustrated by a parable." The examples here quoted are sufficient to show that in the Talmud as in the Old Testament *mšl* is applied to comparisons of various kinds, ranging from similes to real parables. There are nevertheless a few fine

¹ Lauterbach in Jewish Encyclopedia, IX, 513a.

parables in the Talmud, which for vigor and point approach those of the New Testament.

Turning now to the Koran, in Sura 14: 29 ff. we read:

Dost thou not see how God strikes out a parable? A good word is like a good tree, whose root is firm and whose branches are in the sky; it gives its fruit at every season by the permission of its lord—but God strikes out parables for men, if haply they may be mindful. And the likeness of a bad word is like a bad tree which is felled above the earth, and it has no abiding place. God answers those who believe with the sure word both in this life and the next; but God leads the wicked astray; for God does what he will.

Although the Arabic word *mathalu*, which corresponds to the Hebrew *mashal* is used for this comparison, it is clearly not a parable but only a simile. Bible-readers, too, will not need to be told that it is not original. Both Jewish and Christian influences are known to have reached Mohammed, and this comparison clearly combines the thought of Ps. 1 and of Matt. 7:17–19.

Again in Sura 16:77 ff. we find the following:

God has struck out a parable—an owned slave able to do nothing; and one whom we have provided with a good provision, and who expends from it in alms secretly and openly—shall they be held equal? Praise be to God most of them do not know. And God has struck out a parable—two men, one of them dumb, able to do nothing, a burden to his lord; wherever he directs him he comes not with success; is he to be held equal with him who does what is just and who is on the right way?

These are striking metaphors rather than real parables. The elements of a real story necessary to the actual parable are wanting. In Sura 18:31 ff. this passage occurs:

Strike out for them a parable. Two men, for one of whom we made two gardens of grapes and surrounded them with palms and put grain between the two. Each of the two gardens brought forth its fruit and did not fail in anything. And we caused a river to gush forth in connection with them and he had fruit and said to his next-door neighbor, "I am more wealthy than thou and mightier in possessions." And he went into his garden, having led himself astray he said, "I do not think that this will ever disappear, and I do not think that the hour is imminent, and even if I be sent back to my Lord, I shall find a better one in exchange." His companion who was his next-door neighbor said to him "Thou hast disbelieved in him who created thee from earth and then from a clot, then fashioned thee a man; but God he is my Lord, and I will not associate anyone with my Lord. Why couldst thou not have said when thou wentest into thy garden, What God pleases! there is no power save in God? To look at I am less than

thee in wealth and children, but perhaps my Lord will give me something better than thy garden, and will send upon it misfortune from heaven, so that tomorrow it will be slippery soil; or tomorrow its water may be deeply sunk; so that thou canst not get at it."

And his fruits were encompassed and on the morrow he turned down the palms of his hands for what he had spent on it, for it had fallen down upon its trellises. And he said, "Would that I had never associated anyone with my Lord!" And there was no one to help him apart from God, and he was not helped. In such a case the help is God's, the true; he is the best rewarder and the best giver of results.

Strike out for them, too, a parable of the life of this world; like water which we send down from the sky, and the vegetation of the earth mingles with it, then on the morrow it is dried up and the winds scatter it; for God is powerful over all.

Wealth and children are an adornment of the life of this world, but enduring works are better with thy Lord as a recompense, and better as a hope.

The first of these has in it the elements of a real parable. It is, however, clearly suggested by Jesus' parable of the rich man who said, "Soul, thou hast much goods laid up for many years" in Luke 12:16-21.

Finally in Sura 38:20 ff. the parable of Nathan in II Sam. 12:1-4 is reworked as follows:

Has there come to thee the story of the antagonists when they scaled the chamber wall? When they entered in unto David and he was startled at them, they said, "Fear not, we are two antagonists; one of us has injured the other; judge then between us with truth and be not partial, but guide us to a level way. Verily this is my brother; he had ninety-nine ewes and I had one; and he said, Give her to my charge; and he overcame me in the discourse." Said he, "He wronged thee in asking thee for thy ewe in addition to his own. Verily many associates injure one another, except such as believe and do what is right, and they are very few" "O David! Verily we have made thee a caliph in the earth; judge then between men with truth and follow not lust, for it will lead thee astray from the path of God."

This is not called a parable by the Koran, but only a story. It illustrates the use to which Mohammed put an Old Testament parable. It would appear that parables were widely used by the Persians and in Buddhistic literature and by the Hebrews. The real parables in the Koran exhibit biblical influence.

We believe that we have presented examples of the best—many of them are good—from the various sources, but in vigor, in aptness, as well as in religious depth, they fall short of the parables of Jesus.

GROWTH OF DISCIPLESHIP IN THE COMPANY OF JESUS

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When Jesus emerged from his private life to enter upon the work of his public ministry, he was without followers or adherents of any sort. No existing ready-for-work society or church awaited him or welcomed his coming. A certain group of Jews had been aroused by the preaching of John the Baptist into a fresh messianic expectancy of a moral rather than a political sort. In this circle Jesus first appeared and here was the only soil in any wise prepared for his teaching. He did not so much as succeed to the leadership of the rudimentary society brought together by John. Out of this society, however, he gathered his first disciples. Probably most of the disciples of John passed over to the company of Jesus finally, but only after the gradual dissolution of John's society.

The ministry of Jesus was to be a teaching and preaching ministry. similar to that of John. It was also to be itinerant. These two elements, the teaching and the itinerary, determined the first form of association about Jesus. The name which his first companions bore indicates the nature of the relationship—disciples. The calling of disciples grew out of the nature of his work. He must first of all have hearers. But he must have more than the casual hearer: he must have the constant hearer—the scholar, the student, the disciple. Before him in the history of his own people had been the earlier schools of the prophets and the later schools of the scribes. The Iews were accustomed to this sort of activity in their communities. It was the favorite method of introducing any change in the religious thought or life of the people. The message he brought was not so simple and the change he came to work was not so slight that a single announcement of it would secure acceptance. Never was an enterprise undertaken, for the understanding and promotion of which there was such need of apprenticeship. The teacher was conscious of having many things to say for which his people were not prepared and could not be prepared except by long training. There is every indication in the simple and quiet way Jesus went about his task that he had in view a long future. His methods were not revolutionary or hotly zealous. His vocation was that of the teacher, and his trust in the power of the truth.

As Jesus was going along the Sea of Galilee he saw some of his earlier acquaintances plying their trade as fishermen. He said to Simon and Andrew, "Come ye after me and I will make you fishers of men." Apparently without the slightest hesitation they left their work and followed him. He addressed the same invitation to two other brothers, James and John, the sons of Zebedee. They likewise left their work in such haste as to give the impression that some inconvenience to their father arose from it. This call was an invitation to personal attendance upon Jesus as traveling companions and listeners. The call involved no other condition or requirement than the purely secular circumstances of the case imposed—the undergoing of whatever inconvenience or discomfort or sacrifice would be necessary in leaving their homes and businesses to accompany Jesus in his itinerary ministry. No conditions as to their religious convictions, duration of companionship, or final attitude toward him and his cause were laid upon them. No inquiry as to their moral character seems to have been made, though Jesus might have satisfied himself on this and all other questions through former acquaintance. He needed them and they gladly responded to the invitation to go with him. That Jesus had ultimate purposes of which they had no knowledge, there can be no doubt. That companionship with Jesus had an increasing meaning and religious value we cannot doubt. But relationship between teacher and pupil began where it always does in the message of the teacher burning for expression, met by an earnest inquiry in the mind of the pupil. Into what the relationship would finally grow and what it would mean for them they had neither hint nor assurance. It all began so simply, so informally, and so naturally. Jesus was willing to take them as they were and they were willing to make the sacrifice necessary to be with him. Their readiness to go after him and the cost which continuous association with him involved, imply a certain confidence in and expectation concerning him on their part. It was ample assurance to Jesus that they were in earnest and were qualified for discipleship. They had had some preparation for the acceptance of the invitation of Jesus in their contact with John the Baptist. They were members of that earnest, repentant, and spiritually minded community of Israelites, gathered together by John, who were distinguished by a feeling of the nearness of the Messiah's advent and the necessity for a personal, moral preparation for his coming.

I. THE FIRST FORM OF CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION WAS PERSONAL COMPANIONSHIP WITH JESUS

1. The first condition of personal companionship with Jesus was a readiness to make personal sacrifice to be with him.

To go after Jesus, to accept his call, meant first of all, to James and John, Peter and Andrew, the leaving of their business for a longer or shorter time, and the temporary severing of home ties, whatever they might be. There is no intimation that the first disciples called to follow Jesus regarded it as a call to a permanent career or mission. It is scarcely possible to suppose that they saw in the phrase, "I will make you fishers of men," anything more than an enigmatic pleasantry, except by reading back into it the import of subsequent events. The phrase doubtless bore a missionary import in the mind of Jesus; but to say that the disciples understood at the time that it was a call to be the founders and messengers of a new dispensation of eternal truth is to credit them with profounder insight than is warranted by the mistakes and weakness revealed in their subsequent training. Just how great the sacrifice was for the disciples who accepted the call depended upon the extent of their business obligations and the number and closeness of their domestic ties.

The sacrificial nature of discipleship appears in much of the teaching of Jesus, and in many incidents of his journeyings. To one who conceived an ill-advised attachment to him and said, "I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest," Jesus replied, "the foxes have holes and the birds of the air have nests but the Son of man hath not where to lay his head." Jesus saw that he had not carefully calculated the cost of personal attendance upon his ministry, as well as the still greater cost of conformity to the words of his teaching, which would be laid upon him if he prolonged his companionship with him. On another occasion Jesus invited one to go with him, but soon discovered the unfitness of the man for discipleship when he

asked that he might postpone the entrance upon it until he went home to bury his father. This request simply revealed the hold which domestic relations had upon him; a hold all too great to fit him for the privations and discomforts of discipleship. Another declared his purpose of going with Jesus but hesitated to go until he had gone home to bid his friends farewell. Out of the hesitation of this man Tesus draws the spiritual lesson that the kingdom must be sought with undivided attention and unbroken activity. The way to the kingdom lay through the door of personal companionship with Jesus and attention to the things he taught. The issues of life and death were formed for many by so simple a thing as entering or not entering upon discipleship. How decisive this step seemed to Jesus may be gathered from the saying: "So, therefore, whosoever he be of you that renounceth not all that he hath, cannot be my disciple." The issue of an earnest discipleship, he tells them in another place, is worth all that it costs and more: "Verily I say unto you, that ye who have followed me, in the regeneration when the Son of man shall sit on the throne of his glory, ye also shall sit on twelve thrones, judging the twelve tribes of Israel. And every one that hath left houses, or brethren, or sisters, or father, or mother, or children, or lands, for my name's sake, shall receive a hundredfold, and shall inherit eternal life."

In these, as in other sayings of Jesus, the earlier stage of disciple-ship foreshadows the later and the higher stage. Attachment to the personal ministry of Jesus came later to mean more than a voluntary sacrifice of business interests and domestic comforts. As his enemies increased and hostility deepened around him, those who in any way were related to his life shared the enmity and ostracism that he suffered. It came to pass finally that whoever accepted discipleship, whoever identified himself with the company of Jesus, accepted the possibility of persecution and death. Discipleship to Jesus thus became physically sacrificial in its first outer form, and morally sacrificial in its ultimate inner spirit—the one the adumbration and the analogy of the other.

2. The second condition of personal companionship or discipleship was sympathy with the religious purpose of Jesus.

Jesus required no indorsement of his plan or enterprise as a con-

dition of following him. What conditions there were grew out of the circumstances of his mission. Persons without the readiness to make personal sacrifice or out of sympathy with his purpose would soon discover their unfitness for companionship with him. Sympathy with his purpose was more in the nature of a condition of continued companionship with him, while willingness to make personal sacrifice characterized entrance upon that companionship. Both conditions, however, were present as elements of the deepening discipleship. With the increase of sympathy and appreciation there were new demands laid upon the spirit of sacrifice. Many found it increasingly impossible to go back and walk no more with him as contact with him deepened the impression of his personality upon them. The path by which he was leading them was one of increasing self-denial. The privilege of discipleship was open to anyone who desired to enter upon it, and doubtless many tried to assume it only to fail very shortly. The number of persons who could be counted as disciples reached seventy at one time, and there are evidences that the company was increasing and diminishing from time to time.

We may well believe that close personal association with Jesus would not be prolonged without sympathy with the thing he was doing. Without likemindedness in the broadest sense association would grow absolutely uncongenial. No formal test of faith or avowal of purpose was necessary to protect the personal companionship of Jesus against unbelievers. Living with him was the process by which the sincere disciple was distinguished from the insincere, the wheat from the chaff. No formal arraignment and trial of a pretended follower was necessary to separate him from the company. The man out of sympathy with Jesus' teaching and manner of life would be the first to discover the need of change in himself or separation from the company of the disciples. Jesus' own person was the organizing principle of the new community. Like was attracted and held to like; the unlike was simply not attracted, or if attracted for a time, was not held. Those unlike him, if they persisted in their unlikeness, found it impossible to live in the atmosphere of his life. He did not send them away; the rather did he seek to hold them and win them to his way of life if possible, and if they did not stay with him it was because they were "not of the truth." They came and found nothing

in him. They were not in sympathy with his religious purpose, as he gradually unfolded it in the "gospel of the kingdom."

II. THE TRANSFORMATION OF PERSONAL COMPANIONSHIP INTO MORAL FELLOWSHIP

Whatever the motive might have been which led a person to attach himself to the company of Jesus it would not be long before the ethical aim and interest of Jesus would become apparent. The center of gravity of his life and work lay in his ethical interest.

The ethical question was forced home upon every attentive listener sooner or later. No person could continue in companionship with Jesus and remain neutral toward the ethical requirements of his teaching. The very first point of application for the teaching was the personal relationship of the disciple's life. Companionship with him and with each other was an ethical opportunity. The first test must be made in their own circle. Their company formed a school, but a school whose pedagogic principle was to learn by doing. Their own immediate company was the first to be ethicized because it was nearest at hand. As their personal lives were to be examples for others so also were their social relationships. The appearance of any spirit or the occurrence of any act in their relationships with each other and the world at large out of harmony with the high ideals of Jesus' life and teaching met with his kindly rebuke and correction. The disciples were not perfect men either first or last. They were in training.

The Gospel record has left indications of the coming of a crisis in the companionship of the disciples with their Master. There are evidences that there were those who mistook personal attention and respect for ethical appreciation and assimilation. He admonished them by saying, "And why call ye me Lord, Lord, and do not the things which I say?" He represents those who missed the moral meaning and opportunity of companionship with him as saying in the last day, "We did eat and drink in thy presence and thou didst teach in our streets." The critical time finally came for each one of those who followed him to pass over from merely personal companionship to moral fellowship. The dominant moral personality of Jesus made the transition inevitable. There can be real fellowship only between persons of like character. The personality of Jesus was the organiz-

ing force and center of the new society. Immoral persons, that is, persons who persisted in their immoral choices, would be driven from his presence—they could not live freely or happily in the atmosphere of his person. A positive spiritual personality naturally creates the conditions of association with it. The influence of his personal purity and spirituality is seen in the exclamation of Peter: "Depart from me for I am a sinful man." Impurity, selfishness, and pharisaism, found no comfort in his companionship. A selective principle was at work defining and forming the new society, so that in turn the society itself became a positive moral force. Thus the law of likemindedness, which is the organizing principle of all social groups, was operating in the society of Jesus, insuring its homogeneity. Agreement with the mind and spirit of Jesus became the first test of fellowship, the condition of membership in the new society. To receive Jesus in this way was to receive the Father who had sent him. The man who joined the company of Jesus and remained untouched by the spirit of love, kindness, forgiveness, and unselfishness, soon found the company of Jesus uncongenial. he would remain in that companionship he must change his mind and spirit.

1. The first condition, therefore, of moral fellowship with Jesus was repentance.

Repentance was the beginning of moral transformation. The man who was satisfied with his character, his motives, and his conduct, would take offense at correction. The ability to stand correction at the hands of Jesus and the disciples, in the spirit of meekness and love, was a test to which a disciple must submit sooner or later, if he would continue a disciple. Correction was a necessary part of the Master's training. Jesus rebuked Peter for his failure to discern that the giving of self was the law of the righteous life, and the allotted portion of his own life. John was corrected for manifesting a spirit of jealousy and unbrotherly exclusiveness. Through John the rebuke fell upon all the disciples who had had any part in proscribing the beneficent activity of an outsider whom they found casting out devils. James and John, the sons of Zebedee, were corrected on two occasions—once for vindictive zeal on behalf of the Master whom they believed to have been affronted by the Samaritans, and again for selfish ambi-

tion in seeking offices in the new society. On another occasion the disciples were rebuked as a company.

It would be manifestly impossible for a self-righteous or proud person to endure the trying and sifting of motive and action which membership in the company of Jesus involved.

2. Hence another inevitable condition of fellowship in the company was humility or the childlike spirit, the ability and the willingness to receive correction and instruction.

A continuous repetition of offenses against the spirit of the Master and his company, with no evidence of regret or of purpose to change, would ultimately separate the offender from the company. In the early stages of the fellowship there was no such thing as formal exclusion. But the time came when there were other interests served in being a member besides delight with the instruction or the desire for moral reformation. There was the desire for the loaves and fishes, the expectancy of a place in the new kingdom, which held men to the company when they had no real agreement with the spirit and mind of the Master.

At first the inclusion or exclusion of members took place by the operation of the law of likemindedness—men joined or fell away of their own accord. But the exercise of discipline to preserve the homogeneity and integrity of the new society very soon arose. Jesus gave instruction for the guidance of the company in dealing with an offending brother who persisted in keeping company with the disciples. It was all very simple—the one who had suffered the offense should go to the offender and tell him his fault, and if he would not hear him, then to take one or two more. If he would not hear them, then he should make the offense known to the entire company. If he refused to hear the entire company, then he should be treated as an outsider. Here lies the beginning of meetings of the company for other than instructional purposes.

Other conditions of discipleship naturally grew out of the peculiar nature and purpose of the society. The fellowship of the disciples grew ever closer and more intimate. They were consciously bound together by other than those ties which bound the disciples of a teacher to the master and to each other. Their deepening discipleship deepened also their fellowship. They were no longer merely fellow-

disciples in a school; they were brothers in a family. And if that intimate relationship was to be made real and permanent they owed to each other *forgiveness* and *brotherly love*. The preservation of the very existence of their society called for these qualities.

When the companionship of the disciples with Jesus began, they knew little of his personal history; and no special estimate of his person was required as a condition of companionship. As they witnessed his marvelous works, and came under the spell of his more marvelous teaching and personality, questions as to his identity must have arisen in their minds. He was not like other teachers. Various views began to be entertained concerning his personal history and character. There seems to have been extreme reserve between the disciples and the Master on all questions pertaining to his own personal identity. References to himself were veiled under terms whose import was not clear to the disciples. The inevitable question finally forced itself upon their interviews toward the close of his public ministry, as to who he was. He finally threw down all reserve and introduced the subject himself. After asking the disciples the opinion of him held by men generally, he puts the question to them, "Whom do you say that I am?" The impression which his personality made upon them through prolonged association with him was expressed by Peter: "Thou art the Messiah." That they had entertained this conviction for some time before this, cannot be doubted. It had become the common possession of the company. Now, all their surmises and hopes had found confirmation in the open avowal of Jesus that he was the Messiah.

What must have been the effect of this announcement upon the fellowship of the disciples? If their attachment to him and the company had been loose before this, it must have been immensely strengthened after it. All of his past words and deeds must have taken on new meaning in the light of it. Darkness had been deepening around the little society in the form of opposition and persecution. The announcement of his messiahship came at the turning of the tide, at the crisis of events. Upon the heels of it he foreshadows his suffering and death. That moment which had brought new hope and strength to the hearts of the disciples, brought also new trial to their faith and courage. Events were hastening to the close. The

company must be placed upon a new basis of courage and enthusiasm. They now became the companions of Israel's Messiah, God's Son. The moral fellowship is momentarily lifted into a messianic enthusiasm. It is doubtful whether the moral fellowship could have survived the tragedy of ensuing events, merely as a moral fellowship. The messianic faith and hope fortified the society for the crucifixion; while the resurrection restored them once more to courage. When the company emerges from the ordeal of the crucifixion and from the experiences of the forty days following the resurrection, its first utterance is a passionate confession of faith in Jesus as the Messiah and the Prince of Life.

III. THE TRANSFORMATION OF THE MORAL FELLOWSHIP INTO A MESSIANIC FRATERNITY

After the incorporation of the messianic element into the organizing principle of the society, no one could become a member, or long remain a member, without agreeing with the mind of the society. New disciples coming to join the company were confronted with this profound conviction which had been elevated into an enthusiasm. Not only conformity to the moral nature of the community would be imposed, but agreement with this messianic conviction which had been put at the service of the moral task.

No sooner had the messiahship of Jesus been made an open confession in the company than the teaching of Jesus began to assume a new content. It is after that confession that the discourses upon the "last things" appear—the question concerning the end of the age, the parables of judgment, the parousia—all of which were more or less closely connected with the person and reign of the Messiah in the Jewish mind.

When the conviction that Jesus was the Messiah took possession of the disciples, they felt themselves living in the messianic or the last times. Expectation of the immediate dissolution of the world, the coming of the end of the age, the establishment of the kingdom of God on earth, were elements in the impending drama, in which their Master should play the leading part, and of which they themselves should be witnesses and participators. They counted themselves fortunate in having access to that secret knowledge of the signs of the times by being members of the messianic community. Only those who

were companions of the Messiah or members of the messianic community were in a position to know these things. How important, therefore, to be members of this community, and stand close to the person of the Messiah. Many persons, upon persuasion that Jesus was the Messiah, would no doubt be eager to join the community for the sake of the information that would give them safety and security from the approaching disaster, without giving heed to the ethical requirements for membership in the community. For, while the absorbing interest had become messianic, the ethical nature of the society had not been lost.

The resurrection of Jesus and the events that led up to his ascension deepened the conviction of the disciples that he was the Messiah. With this burning conviction in their hearts they were all together in one place on the day of Pentecost awaiting the promise of the Spirit. The unusual phenomena attending this meeting drew together a crowd of people curious to witness the strange occurrence and hear what was said. Peter made this concourse of people an occasion for explaining the true nature and meaning of the peculiar frenzy of the disciples. It was, so Peter declared, a fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel concerning the outpouring of the Spirit in the last days, and an immediate realization of the promise of Jesus of Nazareth, a man whom God had approved as the Messiah by signs and wonders, and in raising him from the dead. He closed his address by saying: "Let all the house of Israel know assuredly, that God hath made him both Lord and Christ, this Jesus whom ye crucified." Before the speaker were, doubtless, many who had witnessed and consented to the death of Jesus; but whether that was true or not of any individual, it was certainly true of the nation as a whole, that they had killed God's Son and their Messiah. Conviction of this awful sin seized upon many in the audience, and they asked what they must do to be saved from the impending consequences of this rejection of the Messiah, and Peter replied, "Repent ye, and be baptized, every one of you in the name of Jesus Christ, unto the remission of your sins, and ye shall receive the gift of the Holy Spirit."

The form of Peter's response embodies a history—the history of the development through which the society of Jesus had passed in the process of its integration and therefore segregation in the world.

With Pentecost the terms of membership in the messianic community are fairly well defined, and in the New Testament church are never added to.

It is sometimes said that Pentecost was the birthday of the church. A church was born in the sense that a group of persons became fully conscious of their separation from the world-society around them, and could definitely name the marks of distinction in terms of entrance to their fellowship. Those marks were repentance and messianic baptism.

THE GROWTH OF ETHICAL IDEALS IN OLD TESTAMENT TIMES

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II. THE PROPHETS OF THE EIGHTH CENTURY B. C.

During the period under discussion in the previous article two main obstacles stood in the way of moral progress, the national-God-idea, and the identification of Yahweh's will with Israel's particularistic ethics. The former restricted the range of moral obligation to dealings between Israelites, the latter clipped the wings of ethical ideals and thereby fixed them to the earth. The ultimate removal of these barriers was the work of many prophets and of many centuries. Jeremiah recognized in Yahweh "the God of all flesh" (32:26), and the writer of Isa., chap. 55, declared "My thoughts. are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith Yahweh. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts." But this stage of moral advance is preceded by many lesser stages that bear testimony to the slow but steady progress of Israel's religion. was during the eighth century B. C. that "prophecy, released from the defense, became the criticism, of the national life." About the same time the conviction was borne in upon Yahweh's spokesmen that the divided kingdoms of Israel were part of a larger world in which God's purposes were being realized. In extant Hebrew literature Amos of Tekoa leads the moral advance of the eighth. century. A brief review of popular religious conceptions in his time will help to throw into relief the greatness of the service he rendered. The people conceived the relation between Yahweh and Israel tobe a natural and indissoluble one, like that between Chemosh and Moab. He was a king behind the king, and regards his worshipers. as the latter regards his subjects. A king without subjects and a deity without worshipers are equally unfortunate. The one is. deprived of the homage and gifts of his subjects, the other of hissanctuary, sacrifices, and cultus. Upon both weighs the necessity

of perpetuating the nation as a measure of self-interest, and by whatever means will secure this end. Upon such a view follows the inference that Yahweh must always help Israel against foreign enemies, regardless of moral considerations. Thus Yahweh, by "plaguing Pharaoh and his house with great plagues," justifies the lie whereby Abraham has enriched himself and dishonored his wife. Similarly, he is bound to carry out against Esau the fraudulently obtained blessing of Isaac. What does Amos have to say to this moral obliquity by which Yahweh, on the basis of a supposed necessary alliance between him and Israel, is claimed as the defender of his people's wickedness? "You only have I known of all the families of the earth: therefore will I visit upon you all your iniquities" (3:2). Two objections are entered: (1) Yahweh's relation to Israel is not a necessary, but a voluntary one. He chose them and can dissolve the relation again, for they are not necessary to his existence or well-being. (2) Far from becoming their champion in political troubles, and so conniving at their wickedness, he, being a moral personality, is bound to chastise them even unto destruction. The Israelites are looking forward to the great battle-day on which Yahweh will vindicate them against foreigners, their enemies. Amos has only bitter scorn for this expectation of unmoral partisanship! "Woe unto you that desire the day of Yahweh! Wherefore would ve have the day of Yahweh? As if a man did flee from a lion, and a bear met him: or went into the house and leaned his hand on the wall, and a serpent bit him. Shall not the day of Yahweh be darkness, and not light? even very dark and no brightness in it?" (5:18-20). In other words, Yahweh does not confer a certificate of good moral character upon a people that does not deserve it. Claiming to be Yahweh's people, they must conform to his will which is ethical. Failing in that, the relationship which should be their strength must be their undoing.

The masses still regard the support and proper administration of the cultus as a complete discharge of their religious obligations. But religion without morality, Amos implies, is a soulless body—a carcass. Amaziah's assumption that Amos is consociate with him in this religion of forms and ceremonies is vigorously repudiated. "No prophet I, nor a prophet's son." Yet he has heard the call "Go prophesy!" and when "the Lord Yahweh hath spoken, who can

but prophesy?" In no uncertain tones he exposes as a delusion the popular belief in the efficacy of cultus to secure the favor of Yahweh, whom he understands to say: "I hate, I despise your sacrificial feasts, and I will take no delight in your solemn assemblies. But let justice roll down as waters, and righteousness as an everflowing stream" (5:21 ff.). "Seek good, and not evil, that ye may live; and so Yahweh, the God of hosts, will be with you, as ye say" (5:14).

In extant written prophecy this constitutes the first great declaration in the Old Testament of the inseparability of morality and a religion acceptable to God. So fundamental is this statement of the ethical character of true religion that the positive gains of the entire subsequent development of Israel's religion have grown out of it. Nor is it a serious subtraction from this high appraisement of his service to say that while Amos had a clear perception of God's ethical character, this perception lacked completeness. He expanded the national-God-idea, but failed to burst it. God's impartial fatherly interest in all men is not yet an article of his faith. In the opinion of Amos Yahweh's power is not limited to Palestine for he exercises directive power over the movements of other nations. The close connection between the idea of God and the idea of moral obligation appears in the correlate extension of the sway of moral law beyond the boundaries of Palestine. If the text is reliable, an impious act of the Moabites against Edom calls forth the denunciation of the prophet (2:1). He believes that extra-Israelitic nations must conform to a divine standard of ethics, and the particular failure which he has in mind is not incident to an issue between an Israelite and a foreigner. But Cornill doubtless goes too far when. on the basis of this verse and of the title "Yahweh Sebaoth," he appears to credit Amos with a belief in the universal rule of God and the universal sway of moral law. In many respects Amos remains a child of his time. He still assumes that other lands are "polluted" because of the presence of other deities (7:17). Careful reading of his sermons shows that his understanding of "evil" included some things that cannot be condemned on moral grounds. His vehement arraignment of what we would collectively call luxuries of life illustrates the disposition of every ardent reformer to condemn

the legitimate use as well as the abuse of certain enjoyments. Later prophets moderated their judgments about these things. It would be interesting also to know all that Amos included under the term "good." He doubtless would have admitted some things under this heading which the Christian judgment of our time would unhesitatingly classify differently. Neither the depths nor the shallows of his moral judgment are accessible now to the plummet of psychological analysis. So much, however, is clear, that the fundamental social virtues, justice, honesty, truthfulness, and fair dealing, occupy the foreground of his thought. He has before his eyes the everlasting curse of the East, bribery in the law-courts, which deprives the poor man of his right and fills the palaces of the rich with "violence and spoil." It is not surprising that God seems to him an impersonation of justice, and the sacrifices "a covering" of the eyes," an attempt to bribe the Judge. That fundamental requirement of the moral law which Amos' hearers so signally violate in their human relations is postulated as the foundation of acceptable religion. Suggestive in this connection is the fact that the student of evolutionary ethics shares this view of the fundamental character of justice in the science of human conduct.2 Henceforward prophetic religion ceases to be "a comfortable pillow," and becomes "an ethical exaction."

In his writings Hosea upholds substantially the same ethical ideals which his elder contemporary Amos defends. But in the motives he urges for their realization in the life of the nation, Hosea appeals to the love rather than to the fear of God. In so far he is a more winning preacher of morals, for the sweet constraint of love is greater and more lasting than the compulsion of fear. Probably the differences between them are to be sought in temperament as much as in the personal experiences that form the background of their respective messages. Hosea declares that there is "no truth, nor goodness (hesed), nor knowledge of God in the land;" that "there is nought but swearing, and breaking faith, and killing, and stealing, and committing adultery" (4:1 ff.). These are the same moral failings, the same social sins, that Amos had denounced. By their concurrent testimony the existing cultus religion at the high

¹ Gen. 20:16.

² Cf. Spencer, Principles of Ethics: Justice.

places, and more particularly the venial and immoral character of the priests, is in large measure responsible for this state of social corruption. The differing attitudes of the two prophets come to expression in the form in which they respectively state their conception of the divine demands. Amos: "Let justice roll down like waters" (5:24; cf. also 5:15). Hosea: "I desire love (hesed), and not sacrifice" (6:6). Both avow their belief in the saving power of right conduct. Amos: "Seek good, not evil, that ye may live . . . and establish justice in the gate: it may be that Yahweh wil l be gracious to the remnant of Joseph" (5:14, 15). Hosea: "Sow for yourselves righteousness, reap the fruit of love (hesed)" (10:12). Obviously the hoped-for reward of piety at this time is the prosperity of the nation and its preservation. Hence rewards and punishments have in view the whole social organization, not the individual. The finer moral distinctions of an individualistic theory of human conduct are absent. The feeling of individual responsibility must have been correspondingly vague. Furthermore, a theory of human conduct, expressed or implied, that postulates temporal national well-being as the goal of ethics and the reward of piety, must be largely, if not entirely, guided by prudential considerations. Goodness as an ideal, to be achieved for its own sake, still hides behind nearer and more tangible, but also more fleeting, ideals. But Hosea took a long stride in the direction of "the things which cannot be shaken" when he declared that the love of God should be the mainspring of human conduct. He draws the larger circle which includes that of Amos.

It is the occasional straw that marks the direction and speed of the current. The ninth and tenth chapters of II Kings record Jehu's treacherous massacre of the family of Ahab. Elisha is represented as having instigated the deed. All the revolting details of the long series of murders are recorded. Then comes to Jehu the word of Yahweh (presumably through Elisha)³: "Because thou hast executed well that which is right in mine eyes, and hast done unto the house of Ahab according to all that was in my heart, thy sons of the fourth generation shall sit on the throne of Israel" (II Kings 10:30). This surprising sanction of so horrible a deed is not far

³ Cf. II Kings q:1 ff.

removed from the fierce spirit that informs the Song of Deborah. It illustrates anew the fatal facility with which even a prophet like Elisha identified the will of Yahweh with the rude morals and blood-thirsty passions of the day. Hosea, standing upon the higher moral ground of a later century, repudiates the sanction of Elisha, and declares his conviction that the deed of Jehu was wicked and ruinous. Very different is the word of Yahweh that comes to him: "Call his name Jezreel; for yet a little while, and I will avenge the blood of Jezreel upon the house of Jehu, and will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease" (Hos. 1:4). It is a cancellation of development, the expression of a more enlightened ethical judgment.

About the close of Hosea's career there appeared upon the scene in the kingdom of Judah the distinguished figure of Isaiah ben-Amoz.4 Among the men whose genius and devotion brightened the far-off centuries of Israelitish history there is no figure more conspicuous, nor a mind more brilliant than his. The symmetry of his powers, evidenced in his career as well as in the matchless prophecies he delivered, places him in the front rank of Yahweh's spokesmen. There are four aspects which his life and his writings present to the student. He was a statesman, a reformer, a theologian, and a poet. As a statesman he first came into prominence during the Syro-Ephraimitish invasion, vainly trying to save his country from disastrous political entanglements. He never lost an opportunity to place his hand upon the unsteady political scales in which the destinies of his nation were swaying. Frequently his counsels were rejected to their hurt by the men of his own generation, but one only needs to read the speeches of Oliver Cromwell to find a concrete example of how Isaiah's promulgated principles have instructed, and still instruct, rulers and nations in their duty and their destiny. Or is it in the capacity of social reformer that we wish to study him: to hear him thunder out his tremendous invectives against greed and injustice, drunkenness and idolatrous superstitions? Here also his profound insight into the causes of national decay has had many sad vindications in the downfall of states whose institutions had been undermined by these insidious vices. Not less eminent is Isaiah as a theologian. His most distinctive theological contribution, pert-

⁴ Translations quoted from T. K. Cheyne, Isaiah, in the Polychrome Series.

inent to this study, is expressed in the song he hears from the lips of the adoring seraphim:

> Holy, holy, holy, is Yahweh of Hosts, The whole earth is full of his glory (6:3).

A remarkable chapter is this sixth of Isaiah. While it deals with the beginnings of his ministry it contains verses which are evidently the result of reflection upon several years of experience as a prophet. Had he written the description immediately he could not have begun it with the words "In the year that king Uzziah died I saw," etc. The implication is that another king is upon the throne, and that the record is a reminiscence. Into this reminiscence, it seems, he wove, as part of the original call, interpreted by several years of unsuccessful preaching, the conviction that his warnings and appeals were destined to fall upon unheeding ears. The case is analogous to that of Hosea who after his wife had proved unfaithful saw in the experiences that led to his choice of her the hand of God. So Isaiah hears through his experience the voice of God, saying:

Go and say to this people:

Hear on, but understand not! See on, but perceive not!

Make fat this people's heart, make dull their ears, and besmear their eyes,

Lest they see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and their heart understand, and their health be restored" (6:9 ff.).

Similarly Hosea, brooding over his domestic sorrow and recognizing it in the light of later events as his call—God's arrière pensée—wrote, "Yahweh said 'Go, take unto thee an impure wife.'" In neither case is it possible to admit that the prophet rightly interpreted the beginning by the outcome. It did not follow that God had hardened the hearts and dulled the ears of Isaiah's countrymen because they would not listen to his message. Nor did it follow that Hosea was divinely directed to marry a woman preordained to prove unfaithful to him in order that this bitter experience might prove helpful to him in his ministry. Only when the human spirit is ruled out as a free moral agent is it possible to say "whatever is, is right," because God wills it so. From such a theory of determinism both the teaching of Jesus and a deeper religious philosophy require us to dissent. We shall feel less reluctance in doing this when we see that it was an element in their conception of God's rule that was borrowed

from the thought of their time. It was a widespread belief of antiquity that God first renders him mad whom he would destroy.5 My purpose in pointing out the manner in which Isaiah came to a realization of his mission is to show that reflective reasoning begins to take a larger place among the means by which Yahweh's will was believed to be communicated to the prophets. In other words there is found, even during this period of objectivity in religion, a halfunconscious recognition of the fact that revelation comes not as a voice out of the flame, or out of the cloud, but wells up out of the consciousness of the prophet—comes through the internal processes of men's minds. The preliminary realization of this fact is necessary to a just valuation of Isaiah's contribution to the ethical progress of his time. The fact, however, that a man whose reasonings fit his time must also share its limitations, warns us not to look for an absolute contribution, but for a relative one; for the substructure, not for the capstone.

It was pointed out in the preceding study that the Hebrews aimed to make their conception of Yahweh's holiness the regulative ideal of their own conduct. Much, therefore, depends upon the worshiper's understanding of the word. In the days before Amos it was practically empty of ethical significance, denoting little more than "taboo." In comparatively late times, under priestly influences as the Book of Leviticus shows, it suffered deterioration again in the direction of this earlier meaning. Before a worshiper's conception of God can influence him to regulate his life according to ethical principles he must know and believe that God himself possesses an ethical character; that he is Lord of the human conscience; that he judges men by a moral standard, and governs his relations to them accordingly. The people to whom Isaiah was preaching seem to have thought that they were worshiping a God to whom moral conduct was a matter of indifference; whose first interest was to observe the quality and number of sacrifices offered to him; who was ever ready to resent an infringement of the ritual instituted by himself, and who regulated his attitude toward them, whether of favor or of disfavor, solely by considerations of the legitimate and illegitimate

⁵ Cf. I Kings 22:20 ff.; Exod. 7:3 (P). These passages move within the same circle of ideas.

in cultus. When people with this conception of God were visited by misfortune, or by a national calamity, it was a sign to them that he was displeased, either because the sacrifices were inadequate. or because of some intentional or unintentional infraction of ceremonial law. The only remedy which suggested itself to them was more sacrifices and a more rigid administration of the cultus: Thoughts of reform did not go beyond the forms of religion because the idea of Yahweh's holiness had little or no ethical content. To lift them out of this religion of forms into a religion of character was the task to which Isaiah, in the main, devoted his life. Probably intuitively he selects the most strategic approach to his problem. He gives to the idea of holiness a much larger ethical content, and so to Hebrew religion as a whole. Mystical divine beings nowhere else mentioned in the Old Testament, guard Yahweh's presence and proclaim him trebly holy. The covering of faces and loins is a symbolic action intended to give additional emphasis to the thought of holiness. Smoke fills the temple—a symbol of divine displeasure at the sinful human being that has ventured into the presence of the "Holy One of Israel." The cleansing from sin by means of a hot stone taken from the altar, if not a mere figure of speech here, is part of a cruder view of holiness as something that is also physically communicable. In short, he makes impressive use of the imagery of his time to portray his conception of God. That the holiness he ascribes to him does not refer to his inapproachableness merely may be shown by reference to many statements of Isaiah. He often makes reference to this attribute of God the prelude to severe condemnation of the social and judicial corruption of his time. "Jerusalem comes to ruin, and Judah falls," he says, "because their tongue and their deeds are against Yahweh to defy his glorious eyes" (3:8).

Their observance of persons witnesses against them, And their sin they publish without disguise! Woe unto them! for they have wrought their own confusion (3:9).

From another prophecy may be cited this passage:

Woe unto those who say:

Let the purpose of Israel's Holy One draw nigh and come, that we may perceive it!

Woe unto those who call evil good, and good evil,

Who put darkness for light, and light for darkness, Who put bitter for sweet, and sweet for bitter! (5:18 ff.).

These and many similar declarations show that when Isaiah attacks sin he has reference in the first place to misdoings from the ethical point of view. With a directness and sureness unattained by any of his predecessors Isaiah asserts the ethical character of Yahweh by pointing out that he requires of his worshipers conformity with a moral standard, and not the observance of feast days and ritual. How clearly he draws the issue between worship and conduct may be seen in the following passage, spoken in Yahweh's name:

This people draw near me with their mouth, and with their lips honor me, but their heart they keep far from me, and their fear (i. e., worship) is but a precept of men, learned by rote (29:13).

Unaccustomed to such moral demands as Isaiah is making in the name of religion, the people treat him with indifference, and even scorn. He calls them—

rebellious people, lying sons,

Sons who will not hear the direction of Yahweh;

Who say to the seers: See not! and to the prophets: prophesy not to us true things! Speak to us smooth things, prophesy delusions!

Turn from the way, go aside from the path,

Trouble us no more with Israel's Holy One (30:9 ff.).

But Isaiah does not compromise with duty, nor abate one jot of his conviction about the truth. Others may lull their fears with patriotic phrases about Yahweh's help, or dazzle their eyes with false visions of security. But he never wavers in his conviction that true religion must concern itself with the right and the wrong in human conduct. In the first chapter, known sometimes as "The Great Arraignment," delivered perhaps a year or two before the close of his ministry, he asserts in passionate language the inherent falseness of the popular conception of God and of the character of his demands. Sacrifices, the blood of beasts, temple-treading, new moon, sabbaths, and assemblies—all this, as religion, is worse than worthless divorced from morality. Then, in language that glows with moral fervor, he reaches the climax of his oration in a simple restatement of his conception of religion in terms of ethical obligation:

Your hands are stained with blood.

Wash you, make you clean, let me see the evil of your doings no more.

Seek out justice, chastise the violent, Right the orphan, plead for the widow (1:15 ff.).

It is clear that Isaiah does not add anything essentially new to what Amos and Hosea have preached. But his political sagacity, his oratorical power, the splendor of his diction, and above all the exquisite literary quality of many of his prophetical poems, gave not only greater force and amplitude to his message; they place him in a class by himself. Where his predecessors wield a bludgeon, he wields a two-edged sword.

THE COUNCIL AT JERUSALEM ¹

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The Council at Jerusalem offers one of the most difficult of problems to the critic. The account of it in Acts, chap. 15, presents some resemblances to the second chapter of Paul's Letter to the Galatians, but there are important differences, too. Is the Council visit to be identified with the second visit mentioned in Galatians? Or was it earlier, or later? If it be identical with the second Galatian visit, is it also to be identified with the alms-bearing visit of Acts 11:30?

There is no uniformity of answer to these questions. The commonly accepted chronology identifies the visit of Acts, chap. 15, with the visit mentioned in Gal. 2:1. Ramsay, however, would identify the visit of Gal. 2:1 with that of Acts 11:30, thus permitting the Council at Ierusalem to occur later than any visit mentioned in Galatians, being led up to by the events which Paul relates as occurring at Antioch. McGiffert would identify all three visits, accounting for the discrepancies on critical grounds. The Sunday-school teacher's concern with this much-discussed problem, however, is not that of the critic. It necessitates only an understanding of the development of the controversy between the Pauline and the Judaistic wings of the primitive church. The precise order of events may be waived after a frank statement of the three hypotheses of harmonizing Acts and Galatians. In any case the Council (or better, Conference) was held in 49 or 50 A. D., unless the earlier chronology of Harnack and McGiffert be adopted, when the year becomes 47.

THE ISSUE

The issue which gave rise to this Council is wholly independent of any critical question involved. The history of the early church, however much it may involve doubt as to specific details, is an open book. The faith that was Jewish in form, and universal in content, had to be adjusted to non-Jewish people. The gospel is an ethicalized and denationalized messianic hope. But the messianic

¹ This study covers the International Sunday School Lesson for May 23.

hope involved a salvation which at the start was apparently limited to Jews. Nothing could be more natural than the position of the Jerusalem Christians at this point. Jesus was a Jew; they were Iews: the gospel was Iewish. To accept Iesus as Christ was to be free from the sentences of the awful Judgment Day, but this justification by faith was enjoyed only by those who were followers of Moses. It was natural for these primitive Christians to feel that it would always be so limited. The Jews were the chosen people of Jehovah and with the exception of the Ethiopian eunuch, Cornelius, and the Samaritans, the Jerusalem community was altogether without precedent for any other expectation. Even these exceptions apparently argued nothing as to the Gentiles as a class. The call, therefore, to the Gentile community at Antioch to be circumcised and obey the Thorah if its members wished to enjoy the messianic salvation is not to be taken in the spirit of proselytism, but rather as a conscious effort to establish the new converts of Christianity in an assured relationship with the coming kingdom. This much is certain whatever method of harmonization between Acts and Galatians be preferred.

At this distance such altruism seems ill advised, but modern Christianity is essentially Pauline, and Christendom, speaking generally, is, unfortunately, anti-Semitic. To treat the demand made of the Antioch Christians by "certain men from Judea" as that of narrow fanaticism is as unjust as to regard the missionary effort of some denomination as un-Christian because assent to a particular theology is made a test of acceptance and salvation by God. The real issue was something deeper than one between Jews and Gentiles. The very character of Christianity was at stake. If the more liberal Antioch group had been forced to yield to the reactionaries at Jerusalem, Christianity must of necessity have become a sect of Judaism. That must have been one chief reason for the mission of Paul and Barnabas. Here, as at so many other times in the history of the church, the liberal was in the right and the conservative was in the wrong. For a true liberalism which magnifies the life of the spirit born of an experience of God above the punctilious observation of rules is always in the line of progress. A vital Christianity moves away from legalism as certainly as virtue moves away from animalism.

THE PROCEEDINGS

The personnel of the Council deserves a careful consideration. In it were apostles, elders, "the multitude" or church members. And it was a Council of Christians. All were loyal to the same gospel of salvation gained through faith in Jesus the Christ. Moreover, all were Jews. Yet it included men of very different outlook and experience. Peter and James and the Jerusalem brethren had lived, so far as is certainly known, circumscribed by the religious pedantry and restrained by the depressing atmosphere of Pharisaism; Paul and Barnabas had moved out among the Dispersion from which they had in fact emerged, and had seen the power of the gospel message operative among the less rigid, more cosmopolitan civilizations of Syria and Asia Minor. It was no novel experience which Paul and Barnabas had had in Antioch. For ten years at least Paul had been preaching the same message to Jew and Gentile alike. Christianity to him had long since ceased to be a mere phase of Judaism, and he had gained the noble perspective which enabled him to value accurately the steps of a progressive revelation.

The conference was amicable. It was no case of Luther before the Diet. Orthodoxy was not at stake. It was simply a question of the moral prerequisites of saving faith. It was a matter of Christian life and experience.

He would be a captious reader who failed to see in the method adopted by the Conference anything but wisdom. The situation was delicate. The decision as to foreign Christians was to be made by the Jerusalem church as a whole. In that church there were extreme reactionaries, but there were not two parties, the Primitive and the Pauline. Any decision favoring the claims of the petitioners must be in the nature of concession, not of party victory. When one recalls the later Christian councils, that, for example, which condemned Nestorius, it is easy to feel not only the presence of Christian love but wisdom in the procedure adopted. First of all, Paul and Barnabas made a report to the church, as well as the Jerusalem apostles and the elders, of all the Lord had done through their efforts. Then it was that the reactionary spirit of Pharisaic Christians expressed itself. They were ready to rejoice at the increase of Christians, but they insisted that Christianity was to be kept as a phase of Judaism.

Evidently such a claim was to be handled discreetly. The apostles and the presbyters wisely permitted free discussion—a discussion which the expression of vs. 7 suggests may have been heated. But the Jerusalem church was not a mob, and as in many another case subsequently, after debate a democracy that was not antagonized by the enforced closure of debate was ready to follow the decision of its leaders.

The address of Peter is a model of its kind—reminiscent, catholic, with a clear perception of the very heart of Christian experience, and best of all a clear recognition of the handicap under which the Jews labored in the effort to combine the spontaneity of faith with the restrictions of statute. Whether or not we have in vss. 7–11 the exact words of Peter; whether he reached a position so similar to that which Paul emphasized in Gal. 2:14 before that famous meeting in Antioch, the account as it stands is a disclosure of the actual process by which Christianity moved out from its Jewish envelope. The Jew conceded the primacy to faith. The Gentile had as truly experienced messianic salvation as had the Jews. If then he were saved why question the divine programme by insisting that the subjects of the messianic kingdom should revert to the condition of those who had found the same salvation, not in the law the Pharisees would superimpose upon the Gentile, but in the selfsame experiences born of faith?

The multitude were impressed, and listened again to Barnabas and Paul as they related more particularly the signs and wonders which God had wrought among the Gentiles. Thereafter even an extreme legalist like James could see the difference between a Jewish and a Gentile denomination of Christians. The only matter left to decide was that of the *modus vivendi* to be adopted by the two groups.

THE DECISION

Just what this *modus vivendi* should be we can see must have been a matter of no small difficulty. On the one side was the Jewish Christian with his insistence on ceremonial purity, and on the other was the Gentile Christian totally indifferent to such requirements. The ideals of neither could be practiced by the other. The one line of procedure open was that which was followed, namely, to recognize that different groups of Christians were at liberty to maintain different

forms of worship provided that they were loyal to the primary element of the gospel, the saving experience of God through faith in Jesus as Christ. It is a distinction which for centuries the Christian church has found it difficult to realize, and only of late has come to embody partially. It is always easy to identify the mode of worship with the truth that makes one free. Most of the difficulties in Christian history have arisen from the desire of one set of Christians to force another into complete identity of creed and practice. The decision of the church at Jerusalem is a model of another sort. The decision proposed by James was in effect that the Gentile Christians should be allowed to maintain their non-ritualistic form of Christianity, while by implication the Jews were left equally free to maintain the observance of the Mosaic law.

At this point, however, we must answer a highly important critical question as to the original form of the Decree. As is well known, the text of Acts at this point varies markedly. In the form contained in the great uncials and followed by Westcott and Hort, the decision as suggested by James reads: "Wherefore my judgment is, that we trouble not them that from among the Gentiles turned to God; but that we write unto them, that they abstain from the pollutions of idols and from fornication and from what is strangled, and from blood." In the Western text as contained in the Bezan Codex and many of the Church Fathers the words, "and from things strangled," are omitted. The decision then reads, in effect: That the Gentiles should abstain from idols; fornication, and murder. In some later texts there is even added to it the Golden Rule. If the Western reading be adopted—as now seems on the whole desirable—the Decree was therefore an ethical formula, pure and simple, without any reference whatsoever to prohibition of the use of things strangled.

With the adoption of this reading as genuine there passes that sinister interpretation of James's words which in the light of vs. 21 would argue that James thought that if once the simplest element of legalism were admitted in the prohibition of things strangled, the Gentile Christians would soon be swept off into complete Mosaism because of the influence of the synagogue. There passes also all the speculation as to the so-called Noachian covenant; and, what is of

more importance, there disappears also most of the inconsistency between Acts, chap. 15 and Gal. chap. 2.

We can understand from this point of view why the reception of the Decree should have been received with joy on the part of the church at Antioch (15:31). For it had completely won its case. We can see also how it should have resulted in the strengthening of the Gentile Christians (16:4, 5). At the same time it is easy to see why no reference is hereafter made to the Decree and why even in the early Church Fathers the concept of the idea of not eating blood should have played so small a rôle. There was nothing further in Mosaism for Christians to discuss.

In conclusion it must appear that this Council at Jerusalem brought as it was face to face with the very fundamental of real Christianity is one of the turning-points in Christian history. Even if the visit of Paul to Jerusalem mentioned in the second chapter of Galatians be subsequent to this Council—a position which it is hardly necessary to hold if the Western reading of the Decree be adopted there is no reduction to be made in this estimate. The church at Jerusalem was far enough from being perfect and was, unfortunately, to drift off into a regard for Jewish rites quite incompatible with and fatal to evangelical faith. It numbered among its members irrepressible propagandists who were not content to leave the Pauline churches in possession of the freedom which was in Christ and wished them to claim the "blessing" promised to Abraham. But, after all, the modus vivendi between the two branches had been reached. Judaism was no longer regarded as necessary to salvation, however much its observance, like that of the later asceticism, might be regarded as a claim to special advantages in the heavenly kingdom. Out from the discussion and the catholic concession of these Jewish Christians we see emerging the fundamental content of Christianity: a life of purity, peace, and service, resulting from the personal, regenerating experience of God through faith in Jesus.

Exploration and Discovery

THE FREER PSALTER

A brief report of Mr. Freer's manuscript of the Psalms in Greek based on the examination of two or three pages only, has appeared in this journal (Vol. XXXI, p. 140) and in the American Journal of Archaeology (Vol. XII, pp. 50 ff.), where a facsimile of a few lines of the main portion of the manuscript appears. Since that time I have succeeded in separating 50 leaves from the beginning of the manuscript and 29 from the end. There still remains a hardened mass in the center containing some 35 leaves, which I hope to separate soon.

Regarding the age and history of the manuscript some further information has been gathered from the leaves separated. The main portion can hardly be dated before the beginning of the fifth century. Though more than one hand appears in the manuscript none can be identified with that of any other manuscript in the Freer collection. With regard to the history of the manuscript it is important to note that the last seven leaves are in an entirely different hand from the rest (see facsimile). These were not an addition written expressly to complete the manuscript, after it had suffered loss through age and wear, but formed part of a manuscript already old when its last leaves were taken to complete the older and more valuable codex. This is proved by the different size and shape of page, by differences in text, and especially by the repetition of vss. 5 to 8 of Ps. 142 at the beginning of the added fragment, though they occur on the last page of the original manuscript.

Two important inferences may be drawn from these conditions: first, at the time of this addition to the manuscript Greek was not written in the monastery owning it; otherwise so ill-matched an ending would not have been employed; second, the addition was made long after the time of writing of the later manuscript, the date of which does not have to be reckoned from the decay of Greek influence in Egypt, as it may well have been written outside of Egypt.

Further examination of the style of writing of this fragment tends to associate it with the early examples of the Slavonic uncial rather than with the imitative, ornamental hands of the ninth century. The nearest parallel that I have been able to find is Θ^a (facs. in Tischendorf's, Mon. Sacra Inedita, Pl. I) a four-leaf Biblical fragment brought by Tischendorf from Sinai and presumably written there or near there. The accents in

 Θ^a are from a later hand. Regarding the other slight differences, the punctuation and enlarged ϕ are no more a mark of later date for Θ^a than the longer cross through the θ or the slightly heavier strokes are a like indication for the Psalms fragment. The similarity of the two hands in most respects shows that they belong to the same century and are probably otherwise related.

A somewhat similar hand, though cursive, is found in Pap. XXXVII of the British Museum (facs. in Catalogue of Ancient Manuscripts of the British Museum; Greek, Pl. XII and Palaeographical Society, I, 38), a psalter of the late sixth or early seventh century. It may be considered the forerunner of the style of our Psalms fragment and similar specimens which are tentatively dated in the seventh or early eighth century.

The last binding of the Psalms manuscript cannot therefore have been much earlier than the ninth century and may well have occurred in the tenth or eleventh. The old home of all these manuscripts in the Freer collection must be sought in some monastery which lived on well beyond this period.

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NEW TEXTUAL MATERIALS FROM OXYRHYNCHUS

The sixth part of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri, edited by Bernard P. Grenfell and Arthur S. Hunt (London, 1908), is by no means lacking in materials of biblical interest. Among its contents are two fragments of the Septuagint text, two of the New Testament, three from apocryphal Christian Acts, and two documents illustrating fourth- and fifth-century Christianity in Upper Egypt.

The Septuagint fragments are from Pss. 68 and 70 and from Amos, chap. 2. The former is written in a large cursive hand of the fourth or fifth century, and must have belonged to a very large book. Its text does not adhere very regularly to any of the three great uncial witnesses for these psalms, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus, and the Verona Psalter, but is nearer to Sinaiticus than to either of the others. The Amos papyrus is written in a heavy uncial hand of the sixth century, and preserves Amos 2:6-8, 9-12. Its text in general agrees with that of the best uncials, BAQ.

While these Septuagint manuscripts are on papyrus, the new texts of the New Testament are on parchment. The first is a complete leaf from the Gospel of John, in the handsome oval uncial hand of the earliest time. The editors refer it to the fourth century, and think it may well be as ancient

as any of the great uncials. It is written in single columns of nineteen lines, and preserves twelve consecutive verses of John, 2:11-22—the cleansing of the temple. In text it most resembles Vaticanus, and like so many of these recently discovered ancient texts, tends strongly to support Westcott and Hort. At the same time it is not without a few somewhat exceptional readings. Both paleographically and textually this fugitive leaf from the days of Athanasius is of interest and indeed of value. The second New Testament fragment is part of a leaf from the Revelation. It belongs to the fifth century, and preserves Rev. 16:17-20, although no one of these verses is quite complete. Aside from its punctuation, the text agrees with that of Alexandrinus, which is also that of Westcott and Hort in this passage.

Fourth-century fragments of the gnostic Acts of Peter and the Acts of John will be of interest to students of early Christian literature. The gnostic Acts of Peter are current in three forms. All these include the martyrdom of Peter, and one, the Latin Codex Vercellensis, prefixes to it an account of Peter's work at Rome in connection with Simon Magus. The new Greek fragment presents the original Greek of a part of this Vercellensis form of the story, which may therefore be accepted as representing the original Greek form of the gnostic Acts of Peter. The manuscript belongs to the early fourth century. The second patristic fragment exhibits a part not otherwise extant of the second-century Acts of John, five parts of which were previously known from different manuscripts. A third fragment of apocryphal Christian Acts is printed by the editors from a fifth- or sixth-century papyrus, but is not identified. Altogether, this forms a considerable contribution to the early Acta literature.

Of the extended portions of the lost Hypsipyle of Euripides, "the most important addition to the remains of Greek tragedy hitherto made by Egyptian papyri," the Commentary on Thucydides, the Epitome of Herodotus, and other notable classical pieces, this is not the place to speak at length. The religious life of Upper Egypt in the early Christian centuries however is curiously illustrated by two or three charms and prayers (923-25). One is a petition to some pagan deity, perhaps Sarapis, written about the beginning of the third century and requesting some specific favor of him. The second is a gnostic charm against fever, and is assigned to the fourth century. Despite its thoroughly pagan character, it was intended as a Christian charm, as the names at the close, Father of Jesus, Son, Mother of Christ, and Holy Spirit, show. Last of all stands the distinctively gnostic name Abrasax. The charm runs:

Verily guard and protect Aria from ague by day and quotidian ague and ague by night and slight fever and All this thou wilt graciously do in accordance

with thy will first and with her faith, since she is the servant of the living God, and in order that thy name may be glorified forever.

Not less interesting is a Christian prayer, which reads quite like an old Greek inquiry addressed to an oracle. It belongs to the fifth or sixth century and reads:

O God almighty, holy, true, and merciful, Creator, Father of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ, reveal to me thy truth, whether it be thy will that I go to Chiout, and [perhaps or] whether I shall find thee aiding me and gracious. So be it. Amen.

The liturgical interest of the opening lines is obvious. The papyrus was perhaps deposited in a church, to await an answer. The low level to which Egyptian Christianity sank in the fifth and later centuries is freshly attested in this curious half-heathen prayer from Oxyrhynchus.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

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Work and Whorkers

ALFRED LOISY has been appointed to the professorship in the College de France formerly held by Jean Reville.

On February 12, Professor George Adam Smith was presented with the Dyke-Acland medal in recognition of his services in biblical research. The presentation was made by Professor F. C. Burkitt, Norrisian Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, at a meeting of the Society for Biblical Study held at University College. The Bishop of Winchester, Principal Forsyth, of Hackney College, Professor Stanton, of Cambridge, and Professor Peake, of Manchester, spoke on the same occasion.

Professor Ernest D. Burton, in the prosecution of the University's Oriental Educational Investigation, reached China December 17, and is now in the heart of the country. Professor Burton arrived in India on October 16, 1908, and after visiting Bombay, Lahore, Simla, Delhi, Benares, Calcutta, Madras, and other points, left it on November 26. In China Professor Burton has already made an extended tour, visiting Canton, Swatow, Amoy, Foochow, Peking, and Hankow.

PROFESSOR KIRSOPP LAKE, of Leiden, has undertaken the preparation of a photographic facsimile of the New Testament leaves of the Codex Sinaiticus. The work is being done at Oxford, by the Oxford University Press, and is to be completed this year. It will be a timely and notable contribution to the materials of New Testament textual study.

REV. G. CURRIE MARTIN, whose commentary on Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the Song of Songs has just appeared, has resigned his New Testament professorship in Bradford College, England, to become General Foreign Secretary of the London Missionary Society.

Book Reviews

"Constructive Bible Studies." Edited by Ernest D. Burton. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Child Religion in Song and Story. By Georgia L. Chamber-Lin and Mary Root Kern, 1907. 250 pages. \$1.

The Life of Jesus. By Herbert W. Gates, 1907. 156 pages. \$1.

Heroes of Israel. By Theodore G. Soares, 1909. 388 pages. \$1.

Studies in the First Book of Samuel. By HERBERT L. WILLETT, 1909. \$1.

Life of Christ. By Isaac B. Burgess, 1908. 367 pages. \$1. Great Men of the Christian Church. By Williston Walker, 1908. 378 pages. \$1.50.

Certain entirely new tests have been applied to the Sunday school in the past few years. The recognition of their propriety has led to the consciousness of needs of which our fathers never dreamed and this, again, has resulted in more serious attempts to meet these needs than have ever been made for the requirements of any other department of church activity.

The Sunday school is no longer gauged by either statistical or intellectual tests; the biggest school is no more confidently called the best, nor are we as ready as of old to award praise to the one where children with the greatest facility and the least thought-expenditure repeat texts of Scripture or recite long lists of names. The test has become vital rather than mechanical: What is the effect of the school on life? What is its fruitage in positive, active character? What is its contribution to the personality and life potency of the pupil?

The transition of emphasis from statistics of enrollment and attendance to information and intellectual training shifted the focus of attention from the secretary's reports to the textbook, which was then the Bible. The movement from biblical information for its own sake to the life aim shifts the focus from the Bible as a purpose in itself to the Bible for certain purposes in the lives of pupils; the attention now is fixed on the pupil and, necessarily, the needs of the pupil determine the character and content of the texts to be used. The test of a textbook in a modern Sunday school is the same as the test for the school itself: Does it grow out of the life needs of the pupils and does it meet these needs?

We have become so used, however, to following an inflexible literature according to a fixed plan that when you ask a teacher to follow, instead, a flexible, developing life according to a vital plan he is likely to be thrown into almost hopeless confusion. He has lost his commentary crutch and is not qualified for safe leadership in the, to him, strange ways of the new method of following the life and laws of the pupil's nature. An added requirement presents itself, therefore, for all graded Sunday-school textbooks, that they shall so arrange and digest the material as both to assist and stimulate the teacher to its right use for the life purposes of the school. The new textbooks must help more than the old, but they must help more helpfully, constructively by selection and suggestion. There are then three things essentially required of the modern Sunday-school textbook: First, that it be based on the natural needs and interests of the pupil; second, that it shall have clearly the life and character aim before it, and, third, that it shall be so arranged as to guide and stimulate the teacher in the profitable selection and use of the material with which it deals. Wise aid in the selection of suitable material for different purposes and grades may be more helpful than the most illuminating elucidation of the text itself.

The Sunday-school teacher and the parent are found in sympathetic appreciation of the common needs and problems whenever the materials and methods for young children are being discussed. Has the child of five or six a religious life—or can vou aid in the spiritual development of such a child? Shall he be taught a one-syllable catechism? Shall he memorize, "Golden texts" and thus enrich the funny columns? Shall he stumble through genealogies, prophets, wars, marital infelicities, imprecations, Pharisees, and other strange and incomprehensible events and creatures to be met in the course of a "see-it-all" biblical tour? And if you do not travel on these ancient, well-worn tracks how do you know that you are really getting anywhere? 'The authors and compilers of Child Religion in Song and Story have answered that inquiry. In effect they say, you will simply follow the interests and activities of the child's life. A child of six to eight sings almost spontaneously; his fingers are never still in waking hours; he loves stories—if they are short and personal or personified; he likes to try to tell incidents; he is a porcupine of pointed questions; he saturates himself with the wonder element in his world, and he delights in the world of birds and flowers and all living things. A child of this kind was evidently before the minds of the collaborators of Child Religion; not the child as we used to think he ought to be-a melancholic, inanimate demonstration of the emptiness of existence—but the child as he is. The teacher has in hand here about forty lessons in ten groups, beginning with the home and going out into the world of nature, friendships, child life and duties. The subjects are opened and the material presented in conversations, songs, short concert prayers, marches, exercises, with the lesson story and directions for hand work in each lesson. Some of the short songs are original, but they include many of the simple classics. For these there are over fifty pages of good music, including special seasonal and occasional pieces. The pupil has a separate package with leaves for his notebook, crayons, songs, etc., all designed for hand work at home.

Perhaps some of the prayers and songs are well beyond child comprehension. One hesitates even to think of the reaction of the child mind to the repetition of the hymn, "Holy, Holy, Holy," especially to the stanza with its specific, detailed doctrinal content. But we must remember that this is in the teacher's book. It would be a poor teacher who could agree with precisely all that another might select for a child or who would not go beyond the bounds of the text for material. However, here is a wide range of well-chosen, helpful material, sympathetically selected in view of a child's religious life and arranged helpfully for the teacher.

I asked the superintendent of a small but highly efficient Sunday school this morning what he used for persons of about ten years of age. He replied, with emphasis, "We find Gates's Life of Jesus just the thing." Inquiry revealed that it was "just the thing" in his school simply because it met the tests suggested above. The child at that age needs contact with great personalities and it is an advantage if the wonder element lies about them like a cloud of glory. One can always feel safe in introducing the young to greatness; there is receptive appreciation of ideas which lie far beyond their analysis, a sense of the sublime which probably contributes to reverence. Hence the value of a study of Jesus to the child of ten totwelve years, and hence also the deep necessity that this study shall be reverent, fascinating, natural, removed as far as possible from triviality and from empty, mechanical formalism. You can do a child scarcely a greater wrong at this time than to associate the personality and the portraits of Jesus with tiresome, meaningless disciplines of memory, or, on the other hand, to rob the picture of its nimbus of wonder and resultant appeal to worship.

Mr. Gates has avoided these dangers. Jesus is presented a perfectly natural person, delightful to know but holding reserves of greater unanalyzed attraction. The method followed is the natural one; the story is simply told, with the use of the material in the synoptists, and the avoidance of metaphysical and abstract questions. The attractiveness of the personality and especially its ideal and heroic elements are so disclosed as to lead

children to make him their hero and leader. The material is divided into short sections with ample suggestions for home work and for hand work by the pupils. The pupil's notebook guides his study, directs his reading, stimulates his curiosity and activity, provides for memory work, picture, and map work. Not a few pupils have completed the work in their books and so have each a life of Jesus very largely in their own language and written and constructed by themselves. On the whole I should call this the best life of Jesus now in use for children.

The Old Testament material presents some rather different problems. It lies in an entirely foreign atmosphere, an understanding of its local color seems to be essential. It lies in the light of its own times, their stage of development. Young people, especially, find it exceedingly difficult to project themselves into the habits, traditions, and whole environment of those who lived so long ago and so far away. Then there is the difficulty of selecting the material; certainly not all the Old Testament is profitable for instruction of the young. Yet the Old Testament has some peculiarly valuable things for the boy and girl of say twelve or thereabouts. That boy is a hero-worshiper, an idealist in deed and personality. He devours alive heroes, especially those of the present day, of the first page and the sporting pages of the papers. He needs to know that there are other, saner, simpler heroes and heroines, whose names and deeds have had an existence beside which all modern fame seems ridiculously ephemeral. He needs the heroes of the Old Testament that he may know that the world has never been without witnesses to the light and that he may catch the moral elements of true greatness. These needs are well met in Dr. Soares' Heroes of Israel. In this book the author separates the stories from the mass of often unsuitable material in which they lie; he edits the old text with care, and he presents vivid, dramatic narratives of the great personalities of Israel. He selects the adventurous and objective, focusing attention, through their acts, on a few cardinal qualities such as magnanimity, devotion to duty, loyalty, and upon a few unheroic qualities, on the other hand, such as cunning, selfishness, and tyranny, while through all the stories the great principles of life are made plain without preaching. One might question the wisdom of teaching by the "horrible example," but if you leave all the faulty people out of the Bible what have you left in? The warnings are always balanced by the positive goods. The principal text is in the pupil's hands with the passages embodied in the textbook. This has the advantage of making the narratives of these heroes seem more natural to the pupil than if they are presented along with a vast amount of other matter in a book entirely unlike any other book. Dr. Soares has

handled material that presents many difficulties, conserving its large values and presenting it for children who need to feel the moral impulse of these compelling personalities.

Because the reading tendency is marked in pupils at about the beginning of the secondary-school period there is a temptation to conclude that they ought to be given a general survey of the biblical material. But that is as though we should try to stimulate to the study of botany by forced marches through field and forest. You have to take a twig or a flower, one at a time, first; later comes the reading of all fields and flowers with new eyes. General surveys come only after the careful study of parts. Somewhere, when the reading tendency becomes marked, at about the time you are introducing the boy to botany through the leaf, is the time to provide in the Sunday school for his introduction to the Bible as literature through the study of some one of its books or parts. I suspect that this was the thought of Dr. Willett in preparing his textbook on the Studies in the First Book of Samuel for the use of pupils of the secondary-school age. Once succeed in awakening an interest in one book and, still more, in establishing right habits of study through that one, and the future study will, very largely, take care of itself.

A double purpose is however served by Dr. Willett's book on Samuel; the pupil not only has a fascinating introduction to this book and to its many exciting events, but he is brought face to face with many of his own ethical and religious problems through its narratives and is forced to do his own thinking about these. The difficulties in the book are handled constructively, but never arbitrarily. Excellent questions are given with each lesson and a short dictionary is found at the end of the book.

The principle of adaptation is well illustrated in the fact that the "Constructive Bible-Study Series" contains three entirely different texts on the life of Jesus. In addition to that for children by Herbert W. Gates and that for adults by Professors Burton and Mathews there is a Life of Christ, based upon the latter, prepared by Isaac B. Burgess and intended for pupils of the later years of secondary-school period. The matter in the first Burton and Mathews Life of Christ which was of less importance and interest to younger people has been omitted and a large amount of new material added of a fresh and human interest, especially suited to young people. Prepared by an author of wide experience in dealing with boys of the secondary age and in teaching their Bible classes, the result is a textbook which will meet their approval and win their interest and activity. It seems a pity that this excellent text should be presented in the large page form instead of in a size that the boy would put in his pocket. This is a small matter, however, in view of the fact that, in its material and

arrangement, its notes, maps, and illustrations, it so well meets the requirements of a textbook for high-school people.

The average Sunday-school pupil is quite likely, when he thinks about it at all, to imagine a direct, personal relation between Paul and the preacher in his church. A serious void is created when he is taught otherwise, when "sacred history" comes to a period about 70 A. D. This may be another fruitage of our book-idolatry, blinding us to the hand divine in all the days since the canon was closed. Yet it scarcely needs to be said that of all chilly, forbidding subjects for youth, church history, as ordinarily presented, would come near to being superlatively congealed. Yet there is an avenue of spontaneous interest along which the youth may be led, easily, gladly, to see God through the intervening days and, so, in our own day; that is the interest in great personalities and in their contributions to history. This is what Professor Williston Walker does in Great Men of the Christian Church. He picks out twenty-one characters, representative men, from Justin Martyr to Horace Bushnell; he tells their stories, their times, their ideals, their share in the making of Christian history and civilization with fascinating interest. The chapters are full of life and movement and are well calculated to quicken interest and arouse readers and students to thought and further study. They can be well used, not only in senior classes but in the classes toward the end of the secondary-school period, when young people especially need to realize that historically Christianity is a unit, that the life of our day is not separate from the life of that day back in the first century, and when they need to feel that one can and must live bravely and for high ideals even in the common-place atmosphere of modern times as truly as in the romantic atmosphere that is created by historic perspective.

Here then is a handful of textbooks, answering on the whole in a large measure all the tests proposed at the beginning, based on the life needs of pupils, seeking the character aim positively, and arranged so as to meet the present needs of teachers, and so suited to the needs of Sunday schools seeking material at once practicable and pedagogically sound.

HENRY F. COPE

CHICAGO

The Religion of the Old Testament: Its Place among the Religions of the Nearer East. By Karl Marti. Translated by G. A. Bienemann; edited by W. D. Morrison. New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907.

Although this volume of the Crown Theological Library has been in our hands for some time, it is by no means too late to recommend it as one of the very best brief and popular accounts of what the Old Testament

religious history signifies to the modern scholar. Professor Marti has had long practice in the art of presenting a connected and living view of the religious history of Israel, from 1894, when he edited the second edition of Kayser's Theologie des Alten Testaments, to the present. Later editions of Kayser grew into a work of Marti's own, which is perhaps the best of the briefer textbooks on Old Testament theology. Meanwhile, from 1807 on, he has been editor of the Kurzer Hand-Commentar zum Alten Testament, of which the volume before us is the concluding part. To the title given above the original adds, "also an Introduction to the Short Hand-Commentary to the Old Testament;" and the Preface states that the sketch is intended so to orient the reader of the commentaries as to the whole course of the history of the Old Testament religion that he will not lose the connection of parts with the whole. The book is meant also, he adds, to supplement the commentary by putting its detailed results together into a connected whole. It would have been as well if the connection of this little book with the commentary had been recognized in its English form. Yet it has a unity and completeness which give it a right to stand by itself, and its appearance in English is to be heartily welcomed. It would be hard to find a clearer and more balanced and judicious presentation of the great successive stages of that unique history in their distinct character and significance and in their relation to one another—the nomad religion, the peasant religion, the religion of the prophets, and the legal religion. It is a satisfaction to realize with what substantial agreement almost all modern scholars will assent to the main features of this most significant development; and it is a still greater satisfaction to come to the assured feeling that this history as we now understand it is of greater religious value, and is more instructive, more impressive, for us far more convincing as evidence of the hand of God in the affairs of men, than the Old Testament history of Jewish and Christian tradition.

We naturally look just now, in such a history as this, for the view taken of the influence of foreign religions upon Israel in the earlier and later stages of its development. Marti's subtitle promises a discussion of this subject. It is gratifying to find that he is not carried away by the new tendency to find the key to this history in the proposition that Judaism was a syncretistic religion. Not that Marti is an opponent of the modern school which is so eagerly investigating biblical problems in the light of the comparative study of religions. His commentary, he says, is marked by this very method. But he feels the danger of exaggerating its significance. Israel had indeed much in common with its neighbors. Not only

in such stories as the Creation and the Flood, but in its civil law, in its ceremonial rites and institutions, in its psalms of praise and penitence, in its proverbial Wisdom, even in the name Yahwe, comparison reveals a relationship with foreign nations and a dependence upon them. Nevertheless Marti maintains that Israel's religion is peculiar and unique, and that what was distinctive in it is more important than what was common to it and any of its neighbors. What then was this distinctive element? Marti finds it already present in the nomad stage of Israel's religion. The positive relationship of the Israelites at this stage was not with Egypt. but with the nomads of Arabia. The uniqueness of Israel was in its faith that Yahwe was not only the God of Sinai, or of the storm, but had become the God of the people Israel by delivering them from bondage in Egypt. He was therefore concerned with this people, and his purpose was to make of them a nation. So from the fact that the religion of Israel and the people Israel were formed together it resulted that social and ethical demands, as well as religious, came from Yahwe. Yahwe's concern for the nation, its fortunes, its manners and customs, its social development, was the secret of that union of morals and religion which is the greatness of Israel. In the period of peasant religion the influence of the Canaanites put this ethical element into the background, yet it was still this which made Israel's religion different from that of the Canaanite. The prophets revived the ethical beginnings of Moses and the wilderness, and carried them on to a higher stage; while the legal religion was a compromise between the prophetic and the peasant. The history of the ethical element in this religion, of the conviction that justice and mercy belong to the will and determine the rule of Jahwe, is therefore the real history of the religion of Israel. It is not what it shared with other nations. but that in which it is unapproached by others, the persistent strength and the increasing elevation of its ethical interests, which is of chief importance to the historian. This also is of chief significance for those who read the Old Testament for the anticipations it contains of the perfect blending of morals and religion in Christ.

FRANK C. PORTER

NEW HAVEN, CONN.

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

BOOKS

TORGE, PAUL. Seelenglaube und Unsterblichkeitshoffnung im Alten Testament. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1909. Pp. viii+256. M. 5.

An excellent treatise on the Old Testament ideas concerning the soul and the life after death. The author displays good judgment in his exegesis and thorough familiarity with the important literature upon his subject. No better guide to the study of the Hebrew thought upon these themes exists.

MACLAREN, ALEXANDER. Expositions of Holy Scripture: Psalms 1-49; Psalms 51-145; Ezekiel to Malachi. Three volumes. Pp. 1,138. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1909.

These volumes constitute half of the fourth series of these "expositions." The series of six costs \$7.50, and may not be sold in single volumes. Like all of Dr. Maclaren's work these volumes represent splendid, direct, forceful, eloquent preaching. But no claims can be made for them as attempts at faithful reproduction of the original meaning of the writings they profess to expound. In the volumes on the Psalms the preacher is at his best; for here his reader is not so seriously embarrassed by the constant thought that the expositor has torn himself loose from the historical and social background of the narrative.

Jugie, M. Histoire du Canon de l'Ancient Testament dans l'église grecque et l'église russe.Paris: Beauchesne et Cie, 1909. Pp. 140. \$0.45.

A treatise by a Catholic friar on the history of the Old Testament Canon in the Greek and Russian church. The author's conclusion is that this history demonstrates the necessity of an infallible head of the church who may maintain intact the deposit of revelation against the ouslaughts of most fundamental heresies.

EHRLICH, A. B. Randglossen zur hebräischen Bibel. Textkritisches, sprachliches und sachliches. Erster Band: Genesis und Exodus. Leipsig: Hinrichs, 1908. Pp. iv+424. \$2.20.

This is the first volume of an ambitious work which is to extend through six or seven volumes. The author deprecates the absorption of modern commentators in analysis of sources to the exclusion of work upon the linguistic and exegetical problems of the Old Testament. He seeks in this work to make good this deficiency. This volume contains many good things and will prove very useful to interpreters of Genesis and Exodus. Its greatest weakness is in its text-critical and lexicographical suggestions.

ARTICLES

THOMAS, J. M. Faith and Old Testament Criticism—The Homiletic Review, March, 1909.

A brief article by the president of Middlebury College emphasizing the fact that historical criticism removes many difficulties from the pathway of the believer. Special attention is bestowed upon the new light shed upon the ethical teachings and practices of the Hebrews by the newer biblical learning.

TORREY, C. C. The Chronicler as Independent Narrator. The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures, April, 1909.

The closing portion of an article begun in the January number. No student of the Books of Chronicles, Ezra, and Nehemiah can fail to reckon with this study.

WARD, W. HAYES. The Origin of the Worship of Yahweh. Ibid., April, 1909.

A fresh study of this much-mooted question. Dr. Ward's evidence is drawn largely from old Babylonian seals.

SMITH, H. P. Notes on the Red Heifer. The American Journal of Theology, April, 1909.

An interesting and suggestive contribution to the understanding of this obscure rite.

NEW TESTAMENT

PIEPENBRING, C. Jesus Historique. [Bibliothèque de critique religieuse.] Paris: Emile Nourry, 1909. Pp. 194.

Working from the Logia and the proto-Mark as the supposed sources of the synoptic gospels, somewhat along the lines of Loisy, Piepenbring seeks to set forth the picture of Jesus' work and teaching as a somewhat rigorous historical criticism reveals it. As against Loisy, however, Piepenbring holds that Jesus' eschatology was notable for its sobriety and reserve, while Messianism held but a subordinate place in his thought and preaching.

HORR, GEORGE E. The Great Ministry. Boston: Bible Study Publishing Co., 1908. Pp. 200.

President Horr's studies of the Sunday-school lessons of the Bible-Study Union Course on the Gospel History of Christ, have appeared in various papers from week to week, and are now gathered, with quaint illustrations, into this volume.

Denney, James. Jesus and the Gospel: Christianity Justified in the Mind of Christ. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1909. Pp. xvi+368. \$2.

Dr. Denney seeks to answer two questions: "Is the prevalent conception of Christianity sustained by the New Testament?" and, "Can the Christian religion, as the New Testament exhibits it, justify itself by appeal to Jesus?" By an elaborate and reasonably critical inquiry, Dr. Denney satisfies himself that both questions must be answered in the affirmative.

Maclaren, Alexander. Expositions of Holy Scripture: The Gospel according to St. Luke, chaps. 1 to 12, pp. 389; Chaps. 13 to 24, pp. 399; St. Paul's Epistle to the Romans, pp. 407. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1909.

Dr. Maclaren's volumes of brief expository discourses are full of helpful homiletical suggestion. The critical and historical task is not undertaken.

LAW, ROBERT. The Tests of Life; A Study of the First Epistle of St. John. [The Kerr Lectures for 1909.] Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909. (Imported by Scribners). Pp. 421. \$3 net.

This work is a serious and well-proportioned commentary on I John. Mr. Law holds that epistle to be the work of the author of the Fourth Gospel, and finds no convincing evidence unfavorable to the assignment of both, in accordance with ancient tradition, to the apostle John. He is over-inclined to detect later theology in the existle. The epistle belongs to a somewhat later date than the gospel.

Fowler, W. Warde. Social Life at Rome. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. 362.

Warde Fowler draws his materials largely from Cicero's entertaining letters, and depicts Roman life in the last years of the republic in a manner at once interesting and informing. New Testament students will be attracted by this book, which describes social conditions in Rome in the second generation before Christ.

HARNACK, ADOLF. The Mission and Expansion of Christianity. Translated and edited by James Moffatt. [Theological Translation Library.] New York: Putnam, 1909. Two vols. Pp. xv+513; vii+358. \$7 net.

All students of early Christianity welcomed this English form of Harnack's admirable study of the early diffusion of Christianity, which appeared in 1904-5. Mean-

time, a second German edition, much enlarged, has appeared (1905); and upon it the present English edition is based. As a critical, comprehensive survey of the extension of Christianity before Constantine this work is invaluable. There are full indices, and a series of maps.

NESTLE, EBERHARD. Einführung in das griechische Neue Testament. Dritte, umgearbeitete Auflage. Mit 12 Handschriften-Tafeln. Göttingen, Vandenhoeck und Ruprecht, 1909. Pp. 298. M. 4.80.

Nestle's useful work on the New Testament text, familiar to English readers as *Textual Criticism of the Greek Testament* (1901), has been brought up to date and slightly amplified. Nestle reports the Freer manuscripts and Gregory's new system of manuscript designations, and his bibliographies are full and, except in a few instances (p. 114), precise.

ARTICLES

MAYOR, J. B. The Brethren of the Lord: Second Thoughts. Expositor, January, 1909, pp. 18-30.

Professor Mayor continues his discussion of the "brethren of the Lord," maintaining that they were younger sons of Joseph and Mary.

KREYENBÜHL, J. Der aelteste Auferstehungsbericht und seine Varianten. Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft, 1908 (IX), 4. pp. 257-96.

Kreyenbühl seeks to find the germ of the resurrection narratives in the story of Jesus walking on the sea, especially as given in Matt. 14:22-33.

FIEBIG. Das Griechisch der Mischna. Ibid., pp. 297-314.

Fiebig urges and illustrates the importance of the Mishna's contribution to New Testament lexicography, especially commending its use to Deissmann, in preparing his New Testament lexicon.

RELATED SUBJECTS

BOOKS

CLARKE, W. N. The Christian Doctrine of God. [International Theological Library.] New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xii+477. \$2.50.

This important volume has long been eagerly awaited. Dr. Clarke confines himself strictly to the statement and support of his own views, not turning aside for a moment to the discussion of conflicting views represented in an extensive literature. His volume falls into the following divisions: (1) Introduction, setting forth the theme, the method, and the sources of information; (2) God, expounding his character personality, goodness, love, holiness, wisdom, and unity; (3) God and Men, in his relations as Creator, Father, Sovereign, moral Governor, Providence, Savior, Trinity and in human life; (4) God and the Universe, wherein the commonly accepted attributes of God are treated, e. g., self-existent, eternal, infinite, omniscient; (5) Evidence, in which the author seeks to show the reasonableness of the Christian conception of God, as he has thus far interpreted it. The volume departs widely from the usual type of discussion of the doctrine of God in that Dr. Clarke eschews absolutely all metaphysical and philosophical questions and furnishes us instead a persuasive and winsome exposition of the religious content of the God-idea as held by the Christian church.

STALKER, JAMES. The Atonement. New York: A. C. Armstrong, 1909. Pp. xi+138. \$1.

Within the space of an hour's reading the author surveys the history of the great doctrine of the atonement. His book contains three lectures delivered at Inverness last October on (r) "The New Testament Situation;" (2) "The Old Testament Preparation;" (3) "The Modern Justification." The limits of the task made it impossible for the author to do much more than state his own opinions, with very little additional in the way of substantiation of his view. It is doubtful whether very

many interpreters of either the Old or the New Testament will accept Dr. Stalker's presentation of the biblical teaching as fully and faithfully reproducing the thought of the biblical writers, and it is certain that the distinctively "modern man" would not find his difficulties solved in the last lecture. The point of view throughout is that of a theologican of the old school.

HALDEMAN, I. M. Christian Science in the Light of Holy Scripture. Chicago: Revell, 1909. Pp. 441. \$1.50.

The author's purpose is "to show that Christian Science is wholly outside the Bible and has no right to the name 'Christian.'" He classes it with "other false religions of the earth." The method is to cite passages from Christian Science and Health setting forth the distinctive teachings of Christian Science and to set in immediate juxtaposition with these corresponding texts from the Scriptures which are of contrary significance. The author's point of view is that of the average, traditional interpreter. His refutation of Christian Science, however, can scarcely be termed scientific.

KEYSER, L. S. The Rational Test—Bible Doctrine in the Light of Reason. Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society, 1909. Pp. vii+189. \$0.75.

The purpose of this book is "to show that certain fundamental doctrines, as held by orthodox believers, are reasonable." The more important doctrines elucidated are (1) Theism; (2) Plenary Inspiration; (3) The Trinity; (4) Virgin Birth; (5) The Atonement; (6) Regeneration; (7) Resurrection; (8) Final Judgment. The character of the book appears in such passages as this: "It may be asked why God proceeded in the way he did to make woman: why did he make her from a portion of man? Why, having made the man from one parcel of ground, did he not make woman from another? The answer is, that would have given the human race two origins instead of one; it would have precluded the solidarity of the human family."

HENDERSON, C. R. Social Duties from the Christian Point of View. A Textbook for the Study of Social Problems. [Constructive Bible Studies, edited by E. D. Burton.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xiii+332. \$1.25.

A reprint of the materials published during the last two years in the *Biblical World*, with thorough revision and some additional matter. The chapters are well adapted to use in the adult classes of the Sunday school and the Y. M. C. A., where they have already met a cordial reception.

PALMER, FLORENCE U. A Second Year of Sunday-School Lessons for Young Children. New York: Macmillan, 1908. Pp. 259. \$1.25 net.

This adds another to the many good books of lessons for children of the primary grades in the Sunday school. Mrs. Palmer, by her previous book, "One Year of Sunday-School Lessons for Young Children," has contributed one of the earliest and best numbers to this field. All will welcome her second contribution. The lessons are topical, teaching concretely and practically some of the simple and great virtues—love, courage, joy, truthfulness, happiness, work, doing for others, thanksgiving, etc. The material of the lessons is largely non-biblical; but even of the limited number of biblical passages introduced some, at least, are difficult to use with children (e. g., the story of Jacob and Esau, of Queen Esther, and the Resurrection). The texts are from Scripture, and are well selected (it is to be hoped that no one would use with children I Cor. 11:29, 30, which is quoted in full on p. 29). Mrs. Palmer's book is excellent; it is sure to be appreciated and used by Sunday-school teachers.

STEARNS, WALLACE N. Fragments from Graeco-Jewish writers. With brief introductions and notes. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1908. Pp. 126.

In collecting these scattered fragments of half-forgotten historians and poets of Hebrew blood but Greek speech, Professor Stearns has rendered an important service. The fragments have been gathered from the writings of the early fathers, and range from the third century before Christ to the third century after. The Greek texts are accompanied by brief introductions and notes. Demetrius, Eupolemus, Artapanus,

Aristeas, Malchus, Thallus, Aristobulus, Philo, Theodotus, and Ezekiel are the writers represented. An index would have added importantly to the usefulness of this interesting collection.

R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON. Semitic Magic. Its Origins and Development. [Luzac's Oriental Religions Series, Vol. III.] London: Luzac & Co., 1908. Pp. lxviii + 286. 105. 6d.

The five chapters of this book are concerned with (1) the Demons and Ghosts, (2) Demoniac Possession and Tabu, (3) Sympathetic Magic, (4) The Atonement Sacrifice, (5) The Redemption of the Firstborn. An Appendix and an Introduction complete the work. The author has read widely in the literature of his subject and constantly reveals his intimate and first-hand acquaintance with the Babylonian magical and religious texts. His application to the biblical institution of atonement of the idea gained from the magical texts of Babylonia that the sacrificial animal is intended to lure the demon from the afflicted man or sinner into said victim where it may be destroyed or prevented from doing further harm is interesting and ingenious but not altogether convincing. However, students of the Old Testament may learn much from this book.

SCHECHTER, S. Some Aspects of Rabbinic Theology. New York: Macmillan, 1909. Pp. xxii+384. \$2.25.

As the title implies, this is not a systematic exposition of rabbinic ideas but "a selection of those large and important principles in which rabbinic thought and Israel's faith were most clearly represented and which I found were most in need of elucidation." Some of the subjects discussed are: (1) God and the World, (2) God and Israel, (3) Election of Israel, (4) Kingdom of God, (5) The Law, (6) Sin as Rebellion, (7) Forgiveness, Reconciliation, and Repentance. The book abounds in quotations from rabbinic writings and carries on every page evidence of its author's erudition.

THOMPSON, SIR H. The Coptic (Sahidic) Version of Certain Books of the Old Testament. From a Papyrus in the British Museum. New York: Henry Frowde, 1908. Pp. xiv+191. \$3.00.

This papyrus "originally contained the books of Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Canticles, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus." It is now incomplete and fragmentary. The typography of this book is beautiful. The publication of this papyrus lays under obligation not only students of Coptic but also those interested in the textual criticism of the Old Testament and in the history of the Septuagint.

Hubert, H., and Mauss, M. Mélanges d'histoire des religions. Paris: Félix Alcan, 1909. Pp. xlii+236. 95 cents.

These studies in comparative religion are devoted to three topics: (1) The Nature and Function of Sacrifice, (2) The Origin of Magic Powers, (3) The Representation of Time in Religion. The authors' point of departure is sociology; hence these institutions and ideas are studied as social phenomena. The studies reveal wide reading and good scientific method.

Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions. Two volumes. Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1908. Pp. xl+784. 215.

These splendid volumes contain the addresses delivered at Oxford last September. They cover the whole range of religious history and represent the work of some of the world's leaders in the new science of comparative religion. Among other matters of general interest is Professor Paul Haupt's suggestion that Jesus was not a Semite but rather an Aryan.

Proceedings of the Baptist Congress at Chicago, Illinois, 1908. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xvi+350.

The twenty-sixth annual session of this congress was of especial interest being a joint session of Baptists, Free Baptists, and Disciples of Christ. The aim of the Congress is to furnish a platform for the "free and courteous discussion of current questions by suitable persons." The New Testament idea of the church is one of the six themes considered; the doctrine of atonement and psycho-therapeutics are likewise discussed.





After Lidzbarski]



THE TEIMA STONE

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Editorial

THEOLOGY AND YELLOW JOURNALISM

THE BANE OF THE HEADLINE

This is the day of publicity. Privacy can set no limits which the newspaper feels bound to respect. In the name of the freedom of the press, men outrage the sanctity of the home, steal portraits, charge in battalions armed with cameras upon every person who achieves fame or notoriety, and when they cannot obtain interviews, they "fake" them. And simultaneously the newspaper proclaims its solemn sense of its duty to control and educate public opinion.

Newspapers do shape public opinion. Not, however, through their editorials. The man who writes the headlines is the real maker of American opinion. Editorial influence has retreated behind modern methods of casting large-faced type. Even the man who takes time to read the matter below the heading reads the heading first. It gives him his views on religion as well as on athletics. Belief in plenary inspiration, having fled the Bible, has fixed itself upon these brazen epitomes of news written by men who must attract attention or lose their jobs.

It is no wonder that teachers of religion suffer. If they venture to lead men into what they believe to be a better view of God's dealing with his world, they fall into the hands of the sensation-vender. If you are sane you are worthless as "copy." So the reporter and the headline-writer treat you as insane. Views are unhesitatingly ascribed to well-known men which are in direct contradiction with their whole manner of life and teaching. Not the slightest effort is put forth to discover whether or not the individual has indeed experienced such a reversal of convictions. Glaring

headlines boldly make startling proclamations for which the subjoined copy furnishes not the slightest basis. Sentences are wrenched out of their proper context, tortured into saying that which bears not the slightest relation to their original import, and distorted out of all semblance to their real selves. Everything and everybody are relentlessly sacrificed to the Moloch of sensationalism.

When a baseball game is to be reported our city editors put an expert on the assignment. When a theological lecture or sermon or book or article is to be noticed they send anybody who happens to be handy. And if he (or she) fails to bring in something "newsy," they turn it over to men who know what "news" is and to headlinewriters who know what ink can do. Nobody then bothers with facts.

The magazines, too, are beginning to follow suit. Muckraking in politics having ceased to yield circulation, magazine writers are investigating theology and the church—but always with the perverted sense that the public prefers its news "high." One magazine, in a recent issue, reports a teacher as "blasting at the rock of ages," because he does not believe that God actually engraved with his finger the ten commandments on two slabs of stone. The author of the article in question pillories supposedly self-respecting teachers by printing sensational legends under their photographs which he had obtained from them as a favor on the plea that he was about to write an article on their colleges. Another magazine assumes the church to be a failure and writes church workers to give their reasons therefor!

And presiding over the entire Walpurgisnacht of sensationalism, ignorance, and crudity is the man who can turn a clever "legend" or headline regardless of fact, person, or self-respect.

A CONDITION-NOT A THEORY

We make no apology for this estimate of the situation. We are simply describing what actually is happening. And the worst of it is that good men, clergymen and laymen alike, believe this sort of thing rather than the denials an over-persecuted man or institution may make. This large-typed misrepresentation and prevarication become infectious. The public loses its conscience. If, as lately happened, a religious teacher, in order to emphasize the truth of Christianity, says that the values introduced by Jesus into life would

continue even if Jesus were to be forgotten, the Associated Press telegraphs over the nation that he said the world would be better off if Jesus never lived. Thereupon the headline-possessed public believes it. And the plague of lies is nationalized.

Men of science are as helplessly at the mercy of ignorance and a perverse estimate of "news" as the theologian. It is only a few years since the foremost physiologist in America was made an international joke by a reporter who could not distinguish a pleasantry from a statement of fact. What astronomer does not fear to give forth an observation or an hypothesis for fear of inane misrepresentation? What biologist but recalls the injury done to the reputation of a great investigator because boys and girls in the guise of correspondents and "space-writers" made his serious and marvelous discoveries the butt of their smartness?

The implication of all this is obvious. It presupposes a deadening of conscience on the part of the newspaper public. The reputation of the teacher of science or of religion is his stock-in-trade. To destroy that heedlessly is as criminal an act as to destroy any other kind of property. For a teacher to have newspaper notoriety as a sensation monger thrust upon him, is to be deprived of that which he holds dearer than life, the respect and esteem of his fellow men. A religious teacher is surely entitled to as much consideration at the bar of public opinion as is granted the criminal by the courts. Acting upon a contrary principle the church is continually in danger of becoming an occasion of ridicule. And, perhaps, worst of all, it paralyzes a man's power of usefulness. It closes up the avenues of approach to men's minds and hearts, and effectually balks all his efforts to lead them into fuller light and larger life.

THE REMEDY IN PUBLIC OPINION

Religion is as sacred as science and far closer to the life of millions of men and women. It should be treated seriously. But it never will be so treated by our public press until religious people themselves demand sanity and ordinary honesty in reporter and editor and headline-writer. Our work of bringing the truths of our faith home to an age that needs enlightenment will become a source of misery and reaction until it is given the fair play accorded the prizefight and the baseball game.

We believe in the freedom of the press, but not in the present orgy of misinterpretation. If the press is to take up theology and religion let it take it up soberly. It can be taught its lesson here as in the case of Christian Science. Who sees that faith maligned nowadays? If the wider religious public were equally loyal to its duty to see its positions properly defended and portrayed, it would suffer less. The situation is too serious to admit of further neglect. Truth is too precious to be subject to the whims of men whose one aim in life is to attract attention.

In the meantime we must go on bravely and, if need be, self-sacrificingly seeking to bring the gospel home to men who in too many instances have been taught to mistake theories of inspiration for the Bible and the rhetoric of pretentious ignorance for the ministry of the Word. We believe that truth though crushed to earth will rise again; in our better, more optimistic moments we believe theology will survive the daily press.

THE LATEST HITTITE DISCOVERIES

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The recent discoveries made by Professor Winckler at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia have finally settled the question of the Hittite empire. They have shown that it had a very real existence, and that it was at one time the leading factor in the political history of the old oriental world. Other discoveries have come to supplement the relations of the Boghaz Keui tablets, and a new page has been opened in ancient history. The discoveries have naturally been a source of especial gratification to myself as they have verified the conclusions at which I arrived some thirty years ago, and which in some quarters were received with hesitation or skepticism. It is not often that the propounder of a new theory in history or archaeology lives to see his theory confirmed.

In dealing with the latest results of Hittite research I must of necessity be to a certain extent autobiographical, for they have verified not only my main contentions, but also minor points such as the identification of the name read Mauthenar by the Egyptologists with the Hittite Mutal, or the correction of the name which the Assyriologists had supposed to be Patina into Khattina. The excavator's spade has now made it certain that in the age of the Nineteenth Egyptian Dynasty and the Israelitish Exodus a great Hittite empire existed with its capital at Boghaz Keui, that its power to influence extended over Asia Minor and Syria, and that it played an important part in the politics of the day.

The discovery of this empire, all memory of which had so long been lost, was for the history of the ancient East what the discovery of the planet Neptune was for astronomy; it explained facts which otherwise did not admit of solution and supplied as it were the missing link in the historical chain, or cleared up the origin of certain monuments found in Asia Minor which had previously been a puzzle, and provided a bridge across which the elements of oriental culture could

have been carried to the countries of the West. Hence it was that from the first a warm welcome was given to it by the German historian, Eduard Meyer, and the French archaeologist and explorer, Perrot.

One by one my views and contentions were admitted by oriental archaeologists, and the discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets in 1887 threw fresh light on the matter. They made it clear that the Hittites had played an important part in the history of the Mosaic. Age, that they had wrested from the hands of Egypt its Syrian provinces, and that the petty provinces of Canaan had in their pay bands of Hittite free-lances, the advance-guard, as it were, of the regular army. From time to time the leaders of these free-lances made themselves masters of the towns and districts in which they served, so that a considerable portion of Palestine came to be governed by a military caste of Hittite or northern origin. This is the reason why Heth is called a son of Canaan in the book of Genesis, while Palestine was known to the Assyrians as the land of the Hittites. That the intruders should have deeply influenced the people among whom they settled was inevitable; ideas and customs of Cappadocian origin must have been imported into Syria and Canaan, and, as has been recently remarked by Professor Winckler, we must be prepared to find Hittite elements in the language of Canaan itself. Many years ago I suggested that the Hebrew "cities of refuge" were one of these examples of Hittite influence; the asylon or "city of refuge" was an institution of Asia Minor, not of the Semitic peoples, and its presence on Semitic soil is otherwise difficult to account for. There is no longer any reason for holding the suggestion to be impossible.

The traces of a Hittite empire, which I believed in 1879 I had discovered, consisted in large measure of a series of monuments in a peculiar style of art which extended from Syria northward and westward through Asia Minor to the coast of the Aegean. Many of these monuments are accompanied by inscriptions in hieroglyphic characters which are as peculiar as is the art of the monuments, and it was accordingly natural to suppose that they were of Hittite origin. The discovery of the Tel el-Amarna tablets, however, subsequently made it clear that by the side of this native script the cuneiform characters of Babylonia were also employed. One of the tablets contains a letter from the Hittite king to the Egyptian government in the cunei-

form script and Assyrian language, and there are two other letters in cuneiform characters but in a language which we now know to have been Hittite.

It would therefore seem that while the native hieroglyphics were used for monumental purposes like the hieroglyphics of Egypt, for ordinary literary purposes the cursive cune form of Babylonia was employed. And along with the use of the foreign script frequently went the use of the foreign language of Babylonia and Assyria, at all events so far as international correspondence was concerned. The educated Hittite was thus in the same position as the educated Canaanite; he was called upon not only to learn the syllabary of Babylonia, but its language. The first actual proof that the language of the new Tel el-Amarna tablets referred to above was that of the Hittites was furnished by the discovery of some fragmentary tablets at Boghaz Keui by M. Chantre more than ten years ago. When these came to be examined it was found that the language of them was the same as that of the two tablets in the Tel el-Amarna collection. The fact is of some importance, since the Tel el-Amarna tablets contain well-known formulae the meaning of which is given us in other letters, and they thus provide us with a starting-point for the decipherment of the Hittite texts. They have finally disposed of the belief long maintained by some scholars that the Hittite language was Semitic.

Advances were soon made in our knowledge of the Hittites and their history in other directions. The corrections made by Dr. Knudtzon in the published copies of the Tel el-Amarna correspondence and a fuller examination of its contents showed that the Hittites played a much more important part in the affairs of Palestine during the later days of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty (B.C. 1400) than we had previously imagined. Like the Swiss in the Middle Ages, or David at the court of Achish, Hittite leaders of condottieri or free-lances sold their services to the petty princes of Canaan and even to the Pharaoh himself. They formed the body-guard of the Canaanitish vassals of Egypt, with whose help the latter made war upon each other and sacked one another's towns. The free-lances naturally had no scruple in transferring their services from one paymaster to another when tempted by higher rates of pay, or in seizing for themselves a principality which they had been called in to defend against its

neighbors. Several of the governors of the Canaanitish states already bore Hittite names, and were of Hittite origin, and they acted as agents of the Hittite king who had long since been undermining the authority of Egypt in Syria and Palestine, and whose armies were now occupying the Syrian cities and driving the Egyptian garrisons before them. When the Mosaic Age began, Hittite influence was predominant in Canaan, its towns were in the hands of a military caste which was mainly composed of Hittite bands, and the Egyptian authority in them was merely nominal.

This was not the only fact, however, which had come to light. We had learned further that Hittite influence had already begun to be felt in Palestine long before the Mosaic Age and the period of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty. Some years ago Brugsch had drawn attention to a stela in the Louvre on which reference is made to an Egyptian campaign against Hittite settlements in the south of Canaan in the early days of the Twelfth Dynasty. But that the word Khata here means "Hittite" was disputed on the ground that the determinative attached to it is not that of "country." To the non-Egyptologist, indeed, it would seem that common-sense ought to have made such a dispute impossible, and evidence was not long in forthcoming to prove that the common-sense interpretation of the name was correct. Professor J. L. Myres showed that the painted pottery found in the pre-Israelitish remains at Lachish and Gezer has a Hittite origin and can be traced to the districts near Boghaz Keui north of the Halys; and then Mr. L. W. King announced another discovery which made it clear that in the age of Abraham the Hittites were already a great military power whose armies undertook campaigns against the Babylonian empire of which Canaan was at that time a province. In the reign of the last king of the dynasty to which Khammurabi—the Amraphel of Genesis-belonged, Babylonia was invaded by the Hittite forces, and Mr. King is probably right in believing that the fall of the dynasty was a result of the invasion. The discovery confirmed certain passages in the great Babylonian work on astronomy and astrology which was compiled in the time of Khammurabi, according to which "the king of the Hittites not only took an active part in Asiatic politics but was especially formidable to the Babylonian government." Dr. Wright, in his Empire of the Hittites, long ago drew attention to these

references to Hittite power, but as there was the possibility of their having been inserted in the Babylonian astronomical work by a later hand I never myself made use of them. The fragmentary Babylonian Chronicle brought to light by Mr. King has now, however, shown that my skepticism was misplaced.

Meanwhile a concession had been granted by the Turkish government to the German Oriental Society to excavate at Boghaz Keui, north of the Halys, where I had long since placed the northern capital of the Hittite empire and toward which Sir W. Ramsay had proved that all the ancient roads in Asia Minor converged. In the spring of 1006, accordingly, Professor Winckler and the Turkish commissioner Makridi Bey proceeded to the spot and commenced operations. They were unable to remain there long, but what they found surpassed all expectations. No less than two libraries of clay books came to light, one of them containing multitudes of tablets of all sizes, the dimensions of some of them, indeed, being unusually large. Many of the tablets turned out to be in the Assyrian language and therefore can be read without difficulty, but the greater number are in the native language of the country. Among them is a copy of the famous treaty between Ramses II of Egypt and the Hittite king, the Egyptian version of which has been so long known: the language of this is Assyrian, as is that of the other tablets which possess an international character. The discovery of this copy of the treaty is one of the romances of archaeology, not the least remarkable part of the discovery being that it should have been made at the very commencement of the excavations. The cuneiform text gives us at last the true pronunciation of the names of the Egyptian kings, about which a good deal of learned controversy has lately arisen; the name of Ramses II, for example, appears in it as Riya-masesa Miya-Amâna.

The tablets were found on the western side of the ancient citadel of Boghaz Keui, now called Boyuk-Kaleh, which stands on an eminence at the northwest corner of the city walls. Here was a series of chambers, the walls of which were built of wood covered with clay tiles and resting on foundations of mortared stones. When the place was burnt at the time of the downfall of the Hittite power the woodwork in the walls naturally fell in, concealing whatever within them had resisted the action of the fire. It was in these chambers that the

library and records of the Hittite monarchs were kept, and when the chambers were destroyed the tablets were partly covered by the ruins, partly broken and rolled over down the slope of the hill. Here they were discovered by the excavators lying buried in the earth, the broken fragments becoming larger and more perfect the nearer the old level of the chambers was approached.

The second library was excavated in the summer of 1907. Its contents were discovered on the east side of the remains of a colossal temple which stood in the lower town, and to which paved streets led on all the four sides. The general plan of the temple resembled that of the Egyptian or Syrian sanctuaries. A great square court leads on the north side to a columned hall, to the north of which again is the holy of holies with a number of small chambers on either side of it. Attached to the temple were numerous other rooms which served as magazines, and it was in one of these that the tablets were stored.

It will be long before the tablets can be made fully to disclose their tale. Very many of them are broken, the forms of the characters are often unfamiliar, and the larger portion of the texts is in the still undeciphered Hittite language. The time at Professor Winckler's disposal for copying and examining the more important Assyrian texts has been but short, and a good deal of it has been occupied in the work of excavation. Nevertheless the revelations already made are widereaching in the extreme. A new chapter has been opened in the history of oriental civilization, and the important part played in it by the Hittite peoples has been made plain. One of the most interesting points about the archives of the Hittite empire that have been thus recovered is their close relationship to the Tel el-Amarna tablets. Many of them belong to the same period and have to do with the same persons. The disaffected governors of the Egyptian provinces of Syria and Palestine appear in them again; but whereas in the Tel el-Amarna tablets the writers profess to be the devoted servants of the Egyptian government, they here show themselves in their true light as vassals and agents of the Hittite king. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets we can watch the progress of the Hittite conquest of Syria; here in the Hittite records themselves we have a detailed account of its completion. Just as Canaan had once been Babylonian and then Egyptian, so now in the Mosaic Age it became Hittite.

The records, in fact, exactly cover the age which we connect with the name of Moses. They begin in the closing days of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty and come down to the period of the Exodus, if not later. It was a period of stirring change and action in the East. Babylonia had fallen into decay, and Assyria was rising at the expense of its southern neighbors. The newly found tablets reveal to us the Hittite kings uniting with Babylonia in endeavoring to check the rising power; the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittites had already had a predecessor in a similar treaty between the Hittites and the Babylonian king.

Like the Tel el-Amarna tablets, therefore, the Hittite records exhibit to us a world in which active intercourse was carried on between one part of the civilized East and the other, and in this civilized East we now have to include the Hittite empire of Asia Minor. Lette s were constantly passing backward and forward from Egypt to Asia Minor or from Asia Minor to Babylon, the international language and script being those of Babylonia. It was a world of great literary activity, in which education must have been widely spread, and the postal services admirably organized. It was a world, too, in which women played a leading part; the Tel el-Amarna tablets indicate queen Teie rather than her son as the virtual ruler of Egypt, and now we find Pudu-Khipa, the widow of Khattu-sil II, occupying much the same position among the Hittites. Even the treaty between Ramses II and the Hittite king, Khattu-sil, was not altogether the work of the men, and Naptera, the wife of Ramses, expresses her satisfaction at its conclusion in a special letter to the Hittite queen.

The Hittite empire had been founded, it would appear, by the grandfather of this same Khattu-sil, whose name was Subbi-luliuma. Subbi-luliuma's father had been king only of one of the numerous Hittite states; his son united the states under himself and extended his dominion over Syria and western Asia Minor. His reign must have been a very long one, since we find him corresponding with Amon-hotep III of the Eighteenth Egyptian Dynasty, while on the other hand his death could not have taken place many years before the accession of Ramses II. It was under him that Boghaz Keui became the capital of the Hittite empire, and that its temples, palaces, and walls were made worthy of the position assigned to it.

One of the first endeavors of the Hittite king was to reduce to vassalage the kingdom of Mitanni or northern Mesopotamia—the Aram-Naharaim of the Old Testament. Mitanni had at one time been an important state. It had served to check the growing power of Assyria; indeed it would even seem that Nineveh had for a while been tributary to it; it had been the ally of Babylonia, and the Pharaohs themselves did not disdain to marry the daughters of its royal family. It had reduced northern Syria to subjection, and carried on intrigues in Palestine. Several of the governors of the Canaanitish towns were Mitannians. Some of the longest letters in the Tel el-Amarna correspondence are from the Mitannian king, and one of the tablets contains a long list of the valuable presents which were sent to Egypt when a Mitannian princess was married to an Egyptian Pharaoh.

But Mitanni proved no match for its Hittite foe. Dusratta, the father-in-law of the Pharaoh, was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of the Hittite monarch and to pay him tribute; and when Dusratta was murdered by his son in the interest of Assyria, the Hittite king was not slow to take advantage of the fact and intervene in the internal affairs of the country. At first the Assyrian party succeeded in putting their own nominee on the throne, and the treasures of the palace were carried to Assyria; but Subbi-luliuma soon appeared upon the scene as the avenger of his murdered vassal; the Assyrian nominee and his supporters were driven out, and another son of Dusratta, who belonged to the Hittite party, was made king in his place. Between him and his suzerain a treaty was drawn up, defining his duties and the amount of tribute he should pay. One of the provisions of the treaty was that the Mitannian prince should divorce his other wives and marry the daughter of his Hittite overlord, whose descendants alone were henceforth to have a right to the throne of Mitanni; another was similar to that in the treaty with Egypt which promised immunity to the political refugees of the two countries.

Mitanni having been secured, Subbi-luliuma was now free to turn his attention to the Syrian province of Egypt. Here Egyptian authority was rapidly waning. Troubles at home, due to the attempt of the "Heretic King" to revolutionize the religion of Egypt, prevented the government from sending help to its sorely pressed officials in Syria, and the Hittite sovereign took full advantage of the fact. The newly

found records supplement the information we have derived from the Tel el-Amarna tablets; the same personages appear in each, and it is clear that the accusations of disloyalty brought by the Egyptian officials against the Amorite chieftains were not without foundation. Foremost among the Amorite leaders is Aziru, who, in his Tel el-Amarna letters, is profuse in his expressions of loyalty to the Pharaoh, but who shows himself under a very different light in the Hittite records where he is called "the king" of the Amorites. He evidently found that it paid him better to be on good terms with his formidable Hittite neighbors than with the decaying and dilatory government of Egypt, and accordingly we are told that he flung himself at the feet of the Hittite monarch who received him graciously and drew up a document defining the frontiers of Syria and handing it over to his vassal, the Amorite prince. The act was a sign to all the world that the scepter in Syria had passed out of the hands of Egypt and that the new lords of "the land of the Amorites," as the Babylonians called it, were the Hittites of Asia Minor. It must have been immediately after this that Kadesh on the Orontes became a Hittite stronghold from whence the regular forces of the Hittite king could march into Palestine in the track of the free-lances who had preceded them. The "king of the Amorites," it may be noted, is already mentioned in the old Babylonian work on astronomy in which references are made to the Hittites; we now learn from the Hittite tablets that he claimed rule not only over Syria but also over the Bedouin east of the Jordan as far eastward as the borders of Babylonia. The last of these kings of the Amorites was Sihon whose territories were occupied by the invading Israelites.

Subbi-luliuma was succeeded by his son Mur-sil under whom the Amorites continued to be faithful to their Hittite masters and to pay their annual tribute of 300 shekels of gold. Then came the two sons of Mur-sil, Mutallis who was murdered, and Khattu-sil II who concluded the treaty with Ramses II. Khattu-sil, before his accession to the throne, had been the friend of an Amorite chieftain, whose name, the reading of which is doubtful, is provisionally transcribed Put-akhi by Professor Winckler. Put-akhi appears to have been suspected of disaffection; at all events he had been carried off to the neighborhood of Boghaz Keui by Mutallis, and there detained as a state prisoner.

Here he and Khattu-sil met one another; perhaps Khattu-sil also, as the next heir to the crown, had been suspected of treasonable designs and assigned to the same royal prison as the Amorite prince. At any rate, as soon as his brother was dead and he found himself seated on the Hittite throne, Khattu-sil restored Put-akhi to Syria, delivering to him—to use his own words—"the inheritance of his fathers and the royal throne." Put-akhi's daughter was further married to Khattu-sil's son, with a stipulation that the sovereignty over Syria should belong henceforward to their descendants. In this way the Hittite king hoped to secure the permanency of his empire over Syria.

But his hopes were doomed to disappointment. When Khattusil died, he was followed by his son Dud-Khaliya who has left us a sort of edict concerning the internal affairs of the empire and regulating the relations of its confederated states. One of the signatories to it is the king of Carchemish. Dud-khaliya's successor was his son Arnuanta, to whom belongs a great cadastral survey of the empire and with whom its cuneiform records come suddenly to an end. Disaster must have fallen upon the Hittite capital; its strong walls were undermined, its palaces and temples burnt, and the Hittite empire of Boghaz Keui was at an end.

The meaning of this disaster has long since been revealed to us by the Egyptian monuments. In the eighth year of Ramses III (about B.C. 1200) the valley of the Nile was menaced by a great confederacy of northern tribes who assailed it partly by land, partly by sea. The confederacy represented the eastward advance of the Aryan tribes, or at least of tribes related to the Dorian Greeks. The classical writers knew them under the name of Phrygians whose first home had been in Thrace, and we read in Homer of the combats on the banks of the Sangarius where the Phrygian Priam fought with the Amazons-the warrior-priests of the Hittite goddess. The northerners, so Ramses III tells us, swooped first upon the Hittite lands. Nothing withstood them as they marched southward from Asia Minor to Syria, burning and destroying as they went. Egypt was their final goal, but it was saved almost by miracle. The old kingdom of the Pharaohs made one last effort for self-preservation, and a naval battle off the coast of Canaan ended in a signal victory for the Pharaoh. The naval victory was followed by a victory on land, and the barbarians were slaughtered

in droves. It was the expiring effort of Egyptian greatness; from that time forward Egypt became more and more effete and powerless; but the destruction of the barbarians secured the ancient culture of the Nile from being itself destroyed before its time.

The Hittite empire in Asia Minor and Syria had not been so fortunate: Boghaz Keui was captured and burnt and its clay archives scattered under the ruins where they are now being disinterred. The broken fragments of the empire, however, survived here and there, and after the storm of the northern invasion was past united again, as I shall show later on, in the empire of Kas or southern Cappadocia.

The fall of the Hittite empire brought with it the fall of Babylonia, as the newly discovered tablets of Boghaz Keui have unexpectedly informed us. We learn from them that in the Mosaic Age a common danger had brought the two powers together. The Babylonian province of Assyria had successfully asserted its independence, and its kings were beginning to threaten the mother-country from which their ancestors had sprung. The right to rule over Western Asia, as the Babylonian kings had once ruled it, could be conferred only by Bel-Merodach at Babylon, and the *parvenu* princes of Assyria, in all the consciousness of their growing strength, were ambitious both to succeed to this rule and to have their right to do so recognized. Assyria was thus the enemy not only of the Hittite vassal states in Asia, but also of Babylonia, and it is not surprising, therefore, that the relations between Babylon and Boghaz Keui should have been close and intimate.

The letters which passed between the Hittite and Babylonian sovereigns were of a very different character from those which were interchanged between the Egyptian Pharaoh and the Babylonian king. There was no question of treaties or defensive alliance between Egypt and Babylonia; the political spheres of the two countries were too far apart for anything of the kind. When the Babylonian king wrote to his "brother" of Egypt it was because the latter wanted to add a Babylonian princess to his harim, or perhaps because one of his brides had asked for a necklace of the lapis-lazuli beads which the Babylonians obtained from the mountains of Persia. But the correspondence between the Hittite and Babylonian governments was of a wholly different nature; it was concerned with matters of high politics and

international questions and—what is the most interesting fact of all—exhibits the Hittite king in his distant northern capital interfering with the internal government of the Babylonian kingdom just as in later days the Roman senate interfered with that of the kingdoms of a Ptolemy or an Antiochus.

Here, for example, is Professor Winckler's translation of part of one of the letters addressed by the Hittite king Khattu-sil to Kadasman-buryas of Babylonia (about B.C. 1300):

(I and your father) were united and became real brothers. . . . When your father died I wept for him like a good brother and I have sent my ambassador and written as follows to the Babylonian government: "(If you) do not acknowledge the son of my brother as king I shall be your enemy (and) shall invade Babylonia. If, however, another enemy attacks you or commits an act of hostility toward you, send to me and I will come to your help." These dispatches, however, no one showed you at the time, so in case they are not read to you I repeat here what I wrote. Since (your prime-minister) Itti-Merodach-baladhu—whom may the gods deprive of breath so that the evil word in his mouth does not become a deed!—has made me very angry with what he has written, saying: "Do you write to me as a brother, or do you order us as if we were your subjects?"

This, therefore, is my answer to my brother: How can I order you as if you were my subjects? The Babylonians cannot "order" the Hittites, nor the Hittites the Babylonians. I have written the words out of friendliness toward them, in order that they should acknowledge the descendants of my brother Kadasman-Turgu. But this is the answer which Itti-Merodach-baladhu has made to me. In what I have written what is there so offensive that Itti-Merodach-baladhu should thus reply to me? All that I have written to them is as follows: "If you do not acknowledge the son of your Master, the result will be that, should an enemy attack you, I will not come to your help!" But I have not taken the answer of Itti-Merodach-baladhu further to heart. Since at the time he wrote it my brother was still a child, and Itti-Merodach-baladhu is a bad man who acts according to his own free will. Why should I take it ill? If now my brother complains that I have broken off diplomatic intercourse, I have done so because of the danger from the Beduin. But Itti-Merodach-baladhu makes mischief with my brother out of everything however small it may be.

It is evident from this letter that in spite of Khattu-sil's disclaimer the Babylonian minister was fully justified in the protest he made Khattu-sil admits that he interfered with the succession to the Babylonian throne and threatened to invade the country if his nominee was not placed upon it. He could not have done much more if it had been the vassal state of Mesopotamia or Syria. The "enemy" to whom he refers was doubtless Assyria, and in view of Assyrian ambitions the military assistance of the Hittites was important to the Babylonian government. The latter, however, clearly thought that it might be purchased too dearly. Events, nevertheless, proved that Khattu-sil was not far wrong. Babylonia was too weak to stand alone, and a few years later, when Hittite help was no longer forthcoming, Babylon was captured by an Assyrian army, and an Assyrian king became master of Babylonia.

Elsewhere Khattu-sil treats the young Babylonian king as if he were his own ward, and proceeds accordingly to give him good advice.

I have learnt [he writes] that my brother has grown up into a man and has a desire to hunt. Go and plunder, therefore, the territory of your (Assyrian) enemy. If I hear that my brother has defeated the enemy, I will say of my brother: He is a king who knows how to handle arms.

It must be remembered that the Hittite occupation of Mesopotamia and Syria had brought the frontier of Khattu-sil's empire to the confines of Babylonia. This will explain another passage in one of Khattu-sil's letters to the Babylonian court, referring to a complaint brought by the latter against Banti-sinni the Amorite king, who was one of Khattu-sil's subjects and, in fact, had been placed on the Amorite throne by his Hittite overlord.

As regards Banti-sinni, [says Khattu-sil] about whom my brother writes that he "disturbs the land," I have questioned Banti-sinni, and he has replied: "I had a debt of thirty talents of silver owing me from the inhabitants of Akkad (northern Babylonia)." Now, however, since Banti-sinni is my vassal, my brother can enter a charge against him, and in the presence of your ambassador, Hadad-sar-ilani, he shall defend himself before the gods for disturbing my brother's land. And if my brother will not bring the suit himself, your representative, who has heard that Banti-sinni has disturbed my brother's land, shall come and carry on the action. And I will order Banti-sinni to come and defend himself, since he is my vassal. If he disturbs my brother, does he not disturb me also?

As was natural, the conclusion of the treaty with the Egyptian Pharaoh was communicated by Khattu-sil to his Babylonian ally. The triple alliance which was formed between the three great powers of the ancient oriental world in anticipation of the triple alliance in Europe today, was aimed at repressing the growing power of Assyria. For a time it seems to have been successful in its object, but the inva-

sion of the northern barbarians broke it up and allowed Assyria to become the dominant state in the East. Boghaz Keui, "the city of the Hittites" as it was officially termed, was worthy of the empire of which it was the capital. Its walls, with their towers and gates, inclosed a vast area and stood on a huge rampart of earth, the sloping sides of which were coated with stone. In front of them was another, exterior wall of defense, also provided with towers, while here and there vaulted passages ran under them, affording an entrance into the city from outside. The gates were massive and imposing, that on the citadel hill being flanked by two sphinxes which have been taken to the museum at Constantinople, while the east gate was adorned with a bas-relief of the king.

Within the walls the city rose terrace above terrace to a rocky height upon which was the citadel together with the royal palace. Below, in the lower city, was a colossal temple approached on all its four sides by paved streets. Three other temples of lesser size, but built on the same plan, have also been excavated, as well as what appears to have been a palace close to the eastern gate of the town. That the walls and other buildings of the city all belong to one period and reflect the architectural conceptions of the same age is the unanimous opinion of the German architects attached to the expedition.

I have left to the last a consideration of the relation between the cuneiform monuments of Boghaz Keui and the hieroglyphic inscriptions which we are accustomed to call Hittite. A few of these inscriptions have been found at Boghaz Keui; the only one of them to which a cuneiform translation was attached is, however, unfortunately destroyed. It is clear that while the hieroglyphs might be used for what we should term monumental purposes, for inscriptions on seals and the like, the ordinary literary medium was the Babylonian script.

It is a noteworthy fact that almost all the hieroglyphic inscriptions are met with south of the Halys, not north of it in the neighborhood of Boghaz Keui itself. For some time past I believe that I have had in my hands a key to their decipherment, and the grammatical forms and words which I have thus succeeded in bringing to light have been remarkably confirmed by the cuneiform tablets of Boghaz Keui on which the same forms recur. But the work of decipherment has proceeded slowly, and as with the increase of materials I have had

continually to revise and correct my former readings it has been difficult for others to follow it. That the decipherment should not have advanced more rapidly has been due partly to the want of texts and the mutilated condition of so many of them, partly to the fact that I have had to work alone, no other scholar having come forward to share my labors. And in decipherment, as in other things, two pairs of eyes see better than one. In spite of all difficulties, however, I have now reached a point where definite conclusions as to the date and origin of the hieroglyphic inscriptions have become possible. Their authors were Hittites, but they were not the Hittites of Boghaz Keui, and the empire to which the inscriptions testify was not the empire of the Hittites but the empire of Kas. In the Tel el-Amarna tablets the Hittites and the Kas are coupled together and Cappadocia south of the Halys was known to the Assyrians as the land of the Kusa or Kosh, while according to the tablets of Boghaz Keui, Gaswya was one of the states which made up the Hittite confederacy. It would seem that after the overthrow of the Hittite empire of Boghaz Keui the scattered fragments of it once more united under the leadership no longer of northern, but of southern, Cappadocia. Their capital and center may perhaps have been at Emir Ghazi, east of Konia, where Sir W. Ramsay has discovered important Hittite remains. At all events this empire of Kas would have been the empire of Cilicia to which the classical geographer Solinus makes allusion and which he describes as embracing Lydia and Pamphylia on the one side and extending to Armenia and Syria on the other. The language of the inscriptions is that of the later Cilicia, and it was in Cilicia that the hieroglyphic script was last used. The existence of the empire I should date between B.C. 1200 and 1100; the inscriptions of the Assyrian king Tiglath-pileser I show that it could not have lasted longer. All such conclusions, however, it must be remembered, are provisional only; for incontrovertible proof or disproof we shall have to wait. But one fact is already clear; whereas the supreme god of the Hittites of Boghaz Keui was Khattu, "the Hittite," the god of whom the kings of Kas were the children and followers was Sandes, who was identified with Herakles by the Greeks. Hence in the Herakleid Dynasty of Lydia lies a reminiscence of Hittite conquest in the age of the empire of Kas.

SHALL THE BIBLE CONSTITUTE THE ONLY SOURCE OF INSTRUCTION IN THE SUNDAY SCHOOL?

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The mission of the Sunday school must determine its ideals and its methods. It is not easy to define that mission in terms that will differentiate the Sunday school from all secular schools. For example, suppose the mission of the Sunday school be stated to be the development of life in harmony with Christian principles. Properly understood the religious or Christian life, in order to be symmetrical, intelligent, individually pure, and socially effective, certainly needs instruction in many subjects that could not be taken up in a Sunday school. Does not all knowledge, rightly used, contribute to the character and efficiency of its possessor? No Christian today in business, in politics, or in the professions of law, medicine, teaching, and literature owes his effectiveness exclusively to what is popularly called religious instruction. Everything the Christian learns is of service in the development of his capacities, ministers to his larger usefulness as a citizen or in his vocation.

Humanity's welfare is not promoted solely by what is technically known as religion. The labors of statesmen, physicians, scientists, organizers of trade and commerce, educators, are vital elements in the improvements of life's conditions, in the possibilities of mental and moral development. All work that advances human interests in any way, national as well as spiritual, is work in harmony with God's will and therefore must receive his blessing and under the law of cause and effect it must produce beneficent results.

But although all these things are true, it is a self-evident impossibility, even if it were desirable, for the Sunday school to teach all subjects. There is a point of contact, however, between all knowledge and physical resources every man possesses and the mission of the Sunday school. That point of contact is the moral or spiritual experience of every soul, no matter what his vocation, his mental

equipment, or his financial resources. It is impossible to conceive this spiritual life except in terms of relationship to individuals and groups, to Nature, and to God. The chief weakness, it seems to me, of a great deal of religious instruction is the tendency to abstract the soul from the body and from outside relationship. Obedience to God is only possible by the discharge of duties to others, the right living in relationships. That can only be achieved by the right use of all our powers, our knowledge, and our resources.

The more I reflect upon the mission of the Sunday school the more I am convinced that its power for good, its place in the society of the future, and its grip upon the confidence and affection of coming generations is and will be determined almost entirely by its ability to cultivate the social spirit and to train boys and girls for social efficiency. There are thousands of men and women who have been trained in Sunday schools who possess numerous virtues of an individual character. In a sense they are negatively good. They refrain from vices that are harmful to individuals and to society. To that degree they are socially useful, for all virtue has some social value. But they lack a positive social spirit. By their indifference to social obligations they are a drag upon reform movements. They help to increase that social inertia which impedes progress.

Then there is another class of people, also trained in Sunday schools, many of them active members of churches and zealous in the promotion of certain kinds of religion, whose social ideals and conduct are aggressively hostile to the welfare of society. They pursue their personal political and commercial interests without regard to social obligations. They are trying to serve God and mammon.

Every advocate of progressive social-welfare work in politics or industry is constantly meeting with open or secret opposition on the part of men whose knowledge of the Bible is up to the average at least and whose zeal for church and Sunday school is beyond reproach. I might give numerous instances of concrete cases in verification of these statements, but it is hardly necessary as no one acquainted with actual conditions will dispute them.

The question, then, of the fitness of the Bible or of any other literature for use in the Sunday school depends, it seems to me, upon the type of character the Sunday school should aim to produce. In

other words, what is the kind of morality desired, since it is selfevident that there are many kinds? Is it stationary or progressive morality? Is it individual or social morality?

If the desired morality is progressive and social, can such a morality be properly cultivated by the exclusive use of the Bible, or should other literature be employed supplementing and interpreting the Bible?

Now let us first consider the fitness of the Bible to influence human life in the direction indicated. It can hardly be disputed that there are numerous types of morality expressed not only in biblical characters but also in biblical teachings. The good and the bad, the mechanical and the vital, the legalistic and the spiritual, the individualistic and the social, lie side by side in the same literature. To discriminate between these grades and types, between inadequate and lofty moral ideas, requires bold and free criticism in accordance with some standard. But this process of inquiry, comparison, and discrimination is most profitable intellectually and morally. It acquaints the scholar with the fact too often ignored that revelation and morality are progressive. It shows that moral conduct is the natural expression of moral ideas involving conceptions of God, nature, man, and duty. A study so conducted cultivates the mind and constitutes one factor in the development of moral character.

To study the Bible in this way requires the use of various modern books that set forth the biblical history of morals and religion in its true light. One reason for a widespread lack of interest in the Old Testament is that it is meaningless to the average person except in spots. My observation is that classes of scholars, ranging from fourteen up to adult years, trying to work up an interest in the Old Testament without this interpretative literature dealing with historical and literary problems, are suddenly seized with a lively interest when the biblical material is presented by means of these modern books.

Now I have said that the criticism and valuation of Old Testament morality have to be carried on according to some standard. I believe that standard is embodied fundamentally in the life and teaching of Jesus Christ. Although in many respects as a whole the New Testament is more readily understood by the modern mind, yet it, too, needs the interpretative aid of modern books which help the

scholar to distinguish between the temporary and the permanent elements of the New Testament.

The fundamental principles of the highest types of modern morality are exemplified in Christ's life and clearly taught in his message. His morality was progressive and social in its very essence. But the history of morality conclusively proves that great progress has been made in the interpretation and application of the elementary principles of the gospel.

And this brings us to what seems to me the most fundamental need of the modern Sunday school. The church and the Sunday school have exceptional facilities for training the young in the work of furthering the interests of Christ's kingdom. To perform this task it is absolutely necessary to show the relationship and application of true Christianity to modern needs and conditions. All sorts of antiquated ideas about Christ and his gospel impede the spread of true social and progressive morality. The antidote for these misconceptions of the inner spirit of the gospel is a knowledge of modern ideas of science in its relations to the practical problems of individual and social morality. The baneful effects of unrestrained mysticism, theosophy, allegorical interpretations of Scripture, and unscientific views of Nature in relation to God are to be seen in every community. The effort to save souls without regard to social conditions, the individualistic piety that spurns the secular duties of a wicked world, the ecclesiastical struggles against liberal education and the secular schools, the inability to see the righteousness and beauty of natural laws, or the moral value of secular activities in politics and industry, all these are the fruit of limiting God's revelation to the Bible or to the church and of a narrow interpretation of true religion.

As a matter of fact we cannot obey the principles of the gospel without seeking the aid of human experience and particularly modern knowledge as embodied in science, psychology, and sociology. Disease, poverty, ignorance, and crime present numerous problems that have to be studied on their merits irrespective of any of the fixed biblical ideas concerning social ills. In various particulars the Bible will help us because it is a record of great experiences and the key, so far as principles and spirit are concerned, is to be found in the life and teaching of Jesus. But the older scholars in the Sunday school

all reach a point where they begin to face the call of the modern world to service. They have been taught from childhood the principles of Christianity. Thousands of them have accepted Jesus as their Savior. They are trying to follow him. But now in increasing numbers they ask: "What are we to do? What is the world's need?" In school and college, through books and periodicals, they have become acquainted with the social problem in its many forms and feel the stirring within of that mighty passion to do something really worth while.

The Sunday school will lose these young men and women as it has already lost their fathers and mothers unless we are prepared to carry their Christian education beyond the mere repetition of Bible stories. At this point books on social problems, biographies of notable men who have embodied the spirit of Christ, poems that breathe a modern gospel will be found to be a fresh incentive to study in the Sunday school. The time has come for us to recognize the fact that our God is not the deceased author of ancient books. He is a living God making sacred history now. He is inspiring men and women as truly as in ancient days. It is as true now as it was then that we are to do God's will, but if we try to discover what God wills without the aid of modern knowledge we will fail to be of real service to the present world.

In proof of the growing desire for broader conceptions of the whole problem of religion I may cite the popular interest in books and magazine articles that deal with live religious issues and problems in church work. Editors of magazines are supposed to know what interests the average reader. One can hardly find a secular popular periodical that does not contain some striking article on the church and social problems, various phases of religious methods of treating the sick, the question of immortality, and other religious matters. The Sunday-school teacher should relate the teaching of the Bible to these present-day popular interests.

Another evidence of the need mentioned is the return to the Sunday school of men and women when classes in applied Christianity are started for the purpose of considering the ethical phases of industrial, political, and social-welfare problems. In my own city five of the downtown churches, Unitarian, Methodist, Presbyterian, Congre-

gational, and Baptist, have organized such classes. The object of these classes is not primarily Bible study in the old sense but the study of Christian principles in their application to social questions.

Each class has its programme of topics and speakers. The addresses deal with the issues involved in the problems. There is no attempt to confine the discussion to the Bible but on the contrary a serious effort is made to understand the conditions of modern life, it being assumed that mature Christian people ought to have at least a general knowledge of the broad principles of Christianity. The result is that hundreds of men and women remain after church service to hear the addresses. In one class alone the attendance rarely falls below one hundred and fifty and is often about three hundred. The city in various ways has felt the influence of these discussions and numerous movements for good have originated in these classes or been furthered by their support.

From what has been said it is clear that the work of the Sunday school is evangelistic and educational. Its aim in dealing with the children is primarily evangelistic in the sense that the first need of the child is the development of its moral life into a conscious acceptance of Jesus Christ and a dedication of its will to the service of the kingdom.

Of course the educational phase of this evangelism is not to be ignored because the child's future conception of the meaning of the term Christian will depend largely upon early training. But conversion is a legitimate and primary aim of this religious education.

After conversion the primary aim is not evangelism but Christian culture. Too often that is lost sight of because the teaching still is carried on as if the scholar had not already devoted himself to Christ. With the development of his religious life there comes a desire for a larger and clearer conception of the whole problem of religion. Then naturally the course of study should not only include elementary instruction in social problems, but some attention should be given to the historical and literary problems of the Bible in order that the religious life may not be hampered in its interests and effectiveness by ideas of the Bible and of religion that will conflict with modern thought and modern interests. The ineffectiveness of many Christians, their indifference to the social demands upon them, and often

their determined opposition to broader church activities are due in almost every case to erroneous views of the Bible and theology. The inertia of many Christians is at bottom theological.

It is saddening and astonishing to see how many Christians who have studied the Bible all their lives have not the slightest knowledge of how the Bible came to be or any conception of the varieties of religious doctrines in the Bible itself.

As an instance of the cultivation of a state of mind unfavorable to effective Christian work in the modern world take the following: A "professor" in a religious school of the revival type recently taught an audience of at least fifteen hundred people that the devil had power over the winds and waves to destroy life and property. I have reason to know that he was generally believed. When one inquires into the causes for many of the cults that harass the church in these days he must be impressed by the fact that there is still a widespread hostility to science as materialistic growing out of all sorts of crude theological views of nature. I have come to believe more and more that it is not so much a mere general teaching of literature and ethics that is needed to supplement biblical instruction, but it is instruction in some of the elementary principles of science as they bear upon the problem of God and Nature, and upon the practical concerns of religion as related to our whole so-called secular life. The opposition to the scientific study of the Bible partly arises from a distrust of the term scientific and an ignorance of the scientific methods and principles.

These misconceptions manifest themselves also in indifference or opposition to various modern scientific methods of extending the kingdom of God through social betterment. Scientific methods of ministering to the poor and attempts to improve environments are scoffed at by many Christians because their minds are warped by literal conceptions of the Bible, by unsound views of the soul and the body, and by out-worn theological dogmas.

I do not see how we are to better such conditions except by supplementing the use of the Bible with other books and instruction that will aim at more than a mere acquaintance with a revelation supposed to be final and fixed for all time.

COMMUNION WITH GOD IN THE BIBLE

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III. IN THE BOOK OF PSALMS

In the first two articles of this series we saw the difficulties of illustrating the idea of Communion with God on the basis of the prophetical and historical books of the Old Testament. The prophets, speaking as they do to men for God rather than to God for men, seldom let us look directly into their inner experience. The figures that move before us on the pages of the historical books are presented rather in their public than in their private relationships. They are national figures and we are told rather what they did than what they were. In the Psalms, however, we have, in its simplest and most natural form, the thing of which we are in search. There men have poured out their hot hearts to God. Heights of joy, depths of penitence and anguish, resolution and failure, thanksgiving and confession, every experience of the soul is here anticipated, expressed, and, above all, related to God, in whom alone the weak found their refuge and strength, and in whose light men saw the mysteries of human life, if not with perfect clearness, yet clearly enough to fill their hearts with quietness and confidence. Johann Arndt, the German mystic, well said: "What the heart is in man, that is the Psalter in the Bible." Here are the prayers that teach us to pray, the songs on which men and nations have modeled their praises, the confessions that inspire and express our penitence. In the Hebrew Psalter the human spirit, in all the checkered possibilities of its experience, lies in the presence of its God. There is no mood, whether of sorrow, struggle, or triumph, which does not here find its reflex and expression. The range of its sympathy has made it the comfort of men in persecution, their inspiration in the struggle with foes within and without, the hope and stay of their dying hours.

Here, however, as everywhere in the Old Testament, problems many and difficult arise, which have to be faced and appreciated

before we can move over the ground with any real confidence. Of these we shall mention only two—those affecting (1) the speaker in the Psalms, and (2) their historic origin.

1. It is natural to suppose that the speaker, when he calls himself "I" or "me," is an individual. Obviously, however, this cannot always be the case. In Ps. 129:1, for example,

Much have they afflicted me from my youth up, Let Israel now say,

the reference must necessarily be a national or collective one. Smend, in his famous essay twenty-one years ago in the Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft, "On the 'I' in the Psalms," sought to carry this interpretation practically throughout the whole Psalter. Since then the pendulum has swung, notably in the commentary of Duhm, to the other extreme. It could not be justly argued that this is altogether a question of no importance, for sometimes the difference in the resultant interpretation will be profound, according as we believe the speaker to be an individual or the nation. Take, for example, the great confession of faith toward the close of the sixteenth psalm:

Thou wilt not abandon my soul to Sheol, Neither wilt Thou suffer Thy loving one to see the pit.

Even on the individual interpretation, the meaning is not beyond doubt. The speaker may be expressing his confidence in his recovery from a severe illness—though this seems too meager a meaning for the large drift of the psalm—but it is quite possible that he is expressing his faith in a life beyond the grave. On the collective interpretation, nothing more would be implied than faith in the continued existence of Israel. It is all the difference between national and individual immortality, and therefore the question of the "I" cannot be said to be unimportant. At the same time it would be easy to exaggerate its importance. A psalm, though sung by the church, is at any rate written by an individual, and in the first instance expresses his feelings and faith; indeed it must do that before it can express theirs. So from this point of view, the question of who the speaker is does not greatly matter; least of all when we remember that though, in post-exilic times, the corporate ecclesiastical consciousness was keen, so also was the individual consciousness, and consequently the individual interpretation of the Psalms cannot in any case be greatly wide of the mark. The penitence, for example, which a psalm expresses must first have been experienced by the individual conscience before it took the form of a psalm to be sung by the united church.

2. Again, it is hardly ever possible to ascertain, with any precision, the origin and authorship of a psalm. Often we may feel sure that it was born out of a very definite historical situation; but in the long course of a history of which we know so comparatively little as that of Israel, many possibilities present themselves, and we have to be content with conjectures of more or less probability. Psalms 44 and 79, for example, are a vivid transcript of a dreadful experience —when the temple was defiled, the city in ruins, the blood of the saints poured out like water, the dead exposed to beasts and birds. Most scholars assign these psalms to the awful days of Antiochus Epiphanes, but even this is not certain. The very uncertainty of the historical origin of the psalms is, however, while in some ways to be regretted, in other ways a gain. It lifts them into a region of universal applicability. Like all true lyric poetry, the Psalms seize the essential element in a situation, dropping all that is adventitious; therefore, though they seldom throw any light upon the history, they are immortal revelations of the human spirit in its most sincere and searching experiences; and it is partly to the fact that they are so rarely specific in the historical sense that they owe their undying power. Where they are specific they have naturally been most appreciated by those whose historical situation was like that of the writers and earliest singers. We can imagine, for example, the power of Ps. 76, sung by the Scottish covenanters before a battle, as described by Scott in Old Mortality:

> When thy rebuke, O Jacob's God, Had forth against them past, Their horses and their chariots both Were in a deep sleep cast.

The people of the Reformation, too, must have felt the thrill of many a psalm, as we can hardly do in these less stirring times. But where the psalmists speak from the level of life's average struggles and sorrows, they appeal to the universal heart.

The Hebrew name for the Psalter is the Book of Praises. Throughout it, with hardly an exception, there is an undertone of either hope

or praise; and some of its noblest songs are altogether songs of praise. At the same time, the Hebrew life which forms the background of the Psalter and against which the glorious fact of God stands out so radiantly, was, for the most part, a life of conflict and pain. Many of the psalmists were men of sorrows and acquainted with grief. Behind and before they are beset by enemies, whose dark presence is felt even in the quietest and most trustful psalms (cf. Ps. 23). Through those enemies the heart of the psalmists was often made sore, and their life was sometimes in peril. The enemies are men of violence and arrogance, with cunning dispositions, sharp tongues, and sometimes swords as sharp. To the psalmists, both the commoner and the rarer tragedies of life are familiar. They know the pang of kindness rejected and friendship betrayed (41:9; 55:12-14). They know the vanity of human help. They have faced, though with faith and good hope, the mystery of life, and felt it at times to be fleeting and empty, like a breath or a phantom (30:5, 6), frail as a dream or a wild flower (Ps. 90). The writer of Ps. 90, that great hymn of eternity, was profoundly impressed by the pathos of it all the inexorable passing of the generations, the blight of sin, the going down to the grave with one's work unaccomplished. To him life seems ruthlessly swept away by the uncontrollable floods of time. It is like a sleep; like a bird that flies away and is seen no more; like a sigh, brief and lost forever, wrung from a heavily laden heart. At the end of it lies the grave, where, for many of the psalmists, there is no more remembrance of God, and they can give him no more thanks forever.

So whether we consider the inherent pathos and frailty of life, or the fierceness with which it is assailed by foes from without, it is to most of the psalmists a valley of deep shadow, though the gloom is pierced by a mild yet steady light, which sometimes shines so brightly as to chase it all away. But often the shadow is very deep indeed.

My life is spent with sorrow, And my years with sighing (31:10)—

that is the burden of many a psalmist's song. "Many are they that rise up against me" (3:1). It is tear-stained faces that look in the night for the joy that cometh in the morning (30:5). Sometimes the

writers grow hot and indignant at the unexplained anomalies of the moral world, sometimes they are driven by them into temporary skepticism, so that their feet had almost gone, and their steps had well-nigh slipped (73:2).

But more real even then these facts that distress and vex them is the infinite fact of God. They are at the worst but temporary; but he was before them and he will be after them. They perish, but he endures, ever the same, and his years know no end. And no great impersonal force is he, but a Father who pities his children (103:13), a Friend who loves and listens to his human friends. We are so familiar with the language of the Psalms that it is hard for us to realize the wonder of it, the naturalness, the passion, the naïveté, we had almost said, with which they appeal to him to help them, to arise, to awake for them, to hide them, and to watch over them.

Forsake me not, O Jehovah: O my God, be not far from me (38:21).

They are persons, so is He. "Thou art with me" (23:4). Here, and everywhere throughout the Psalter, two persons face each other—the divine and the human; and this living sense of the personality of God is the sublime glory of the Psalter. He is as real to those who trust him as the mountains that are round about Jersusalem (125:2), only more stable and mighty than they. They might be torn up by the roots and flung into the sea, but he would even then be a refuge (46:1 f.), inspiring his people with a strength and a calmness like his own.

This fact of God and of his reality to the psalmists, familiar as it is, sometimes comes upon the reader with overwhelming power; and to the man who passionately believes it every situation is by it transformed. Take, for example, Ps. 11. There the situation is desperate enough. Society is being shaken to its foundations, its pillars are trembling, the best are despondent or despairing. The worst are working untrammeled their cruel will, and flight seems the only wisdom. But there is one brave, strong man who amid the confusion and despair stands firm as a rock. He sees the danger, but he also sees his God. From the danger on earth he lifts up his eyes to the heavens, to Jehovah, who from his throne is carefully watching it all, and who will one day punish the wicked, and reward

the good with a vision of his gracious face. Or take Ps. 91, that most daring expression of optimism in the Psalter. To its writer the world was thick-set with perils, peopled by demons who haunted every hour of the day and night, by forces that smote men down by the thousand and ten thousand. Upon its roads were stones over which the weary pilgrim feet might stumble; in its secret places lurked serpents and wild beasts. But the eye of faith sees angels to match the demons—angels who gently lift the pilgrim over the rough places of the way; and above all, the Psalmist sees very plainly one of whom he can say, "He is my refuge and my fortress, my God, in whom I trust." Sometimes indeed through their blinding tears the psalmists cannot see God (73:13), but in happier moods, and sometimes even in their sorrow, they feel themselves overwhelmed by a sense of that justice and goodness of God, which are all the the day. Indeed, nothing in the universe is so stupendous as these facts, which are comparable only to the mightiest things in the world —the mountains and the great sea.

> O Jehovah, thy love is in the heavens, Thy faithfulness reacheth to the skies, Thy righteousness is like the mountains of God, Thy judgments are a great deep (36:5 f.).

The whole earth is full of the loving kindness of Jehovah (33:5), and if one would learn how good he is, one has only to taste and see (34:8).

Such then is the God to whom the psalmists pray; and so real, so personal is he, that their address to him never meanders into abstractions, it has all the glow and color of a passionate personal relationship. The psalmists are not so much concerned to assert that God is everywhere, but that he is here—not only with the world at large, but with them and where they are. "God with us"—that is their motto. Yet surely no one ever thought of God in his larger relationships more impressively than they. They were overwhelmed, as completely as any man has ever been, by the thought of God's infinity, of his eternity, of his omnipresence; but they have the genius to express these thoughts in language that falls within the comprehension of a little child. They show him sitting as King at the Flood, and sitting as King forever (29:10) as enduring when

the heavens are no more (102:26), as existing from the unthinkable past, on through the life of mountains and men, to the unimaginable future (Ps. 90). They do not say that he is omnipresent, but they say with a more convincing simplicity that there is no place in which we can escape his spirit, or evade his presence—that high in heaven, or deep in Sheol, or far away in the uttermost parts of the sea, he is there (139:7-9).

Anywhere, then, it will be possible for the devout soul to commune with such a God. All nature is the work of his hand, and a shining symbol of his presence. The psalmists "see him," as Fr. Naumann has said, "come over the mountains—in the snow, in the rain, in the sunshine." The starry sky (Ps. 8), the splendid sun (Ps. 19), the great wide sea (104:25), the bubbling fountains, the grassy fields, the stately trees (104:10-17)—in the presence of these things the psalmists feel that they are in his own presence. Yet there is a nearer fellowship than that. At best those things but declare his glory (19:1), but not his will for men. That is revealed for them in two ways apart from the revelation that came to them in the musings of their own hearts, namely, in history and in Scripture. On the field of history the mysterious purpose of God may be learned—that purpose which in its essence is love (Ps. 136), though human obstinacy has often compelled it to show itself as severity. It is because God is present in history that faith can reinforce itself by thinking of the days of old (143:5), and the sense of God and his goodness is kept alive partly by the tradition that passes on through the ages from father to son.

> We have heard with our ears, O God, Our fathers have told us What work thou didst in their days, In the days of old (44:1, cf. 48:13).

But the divine will which was written in letters of fire on the pages of history, was written more gently but not less plainly in Scripture, which embraced certainly the Pentateuch, possibly also parts of the historical and prophetical books. This was God's unique gift to Israel (147:19 f.) and its praises are sung in language of quiet rapture (Ps. 119; 19:7-11).

In Jerusalem, which was regarded as, in a special sense, Jehovah's

earthly home, "the city of the great King" (48:2), and more particularly in the temple, did the true Jew feel himself to be peculiarly near his God. Specially blessed were those who dwelt in his house and praised him evermore (84:4): it is there that they behold the beauty of Jehovah (27:4), and their hearts fill with simple joy when someone proposes a pilgrimage to the holy city, to take part in the stately worship of the temple they loved so well (Ps. 122). Naturally, communion with God, besides being sustained in these ways—by the contemplation of nature, by meditation upon history, by the study of Scripture, and by participation in public worship—was sustained most powerfully of all by prayer. Besides the express testimony of 55:17, that prayer was offered three times a day, the whole Psalter is an eloquent testimony to the place and power of prayer in the life of the devout Hebrew.

Communion with God, while it may be realized with special vividness in sorrow—for he "healeth the broken in heart and bindeth up their wounds" (147:3)—is interrupted by sin. Unforgiven sin creates a paralyzing feeling of condemnation and prostration (130:3; 143:2), and there can be no health or happiness for the soul until sin is sincerely confessed. Then God, who has both the will and the power to redeem (130:7 f.), will compass the penitent about with forgiveness and love (Ps. 32), and the old glad relationship will be restored.

With such a God to worship—one who, though Lord of the heavens and the earth, yet enters with his power and pity into the experiences of the individual soul—the passion of the Psalter is very explicable. Its writers long for him as the hart pants for the water-brooks, and when he seems to stand afar off, it is as if the light of the world had gone out. But their hearts are never long without a witness to him. Even when he seems to have forsaken them (22:1), it is he who has forsaken them. He is still somewhere, the great unshaken Fact, the patient and affectionate Person, who in his own way, which is not our way, and in his own time, which is not our time, will deliver his poor servant out of the jaws of the ravening and roaring lion. Under the shadow of his wings those who trust him may rest with quietness and confidence, in the assurance that his tender mercies are over all his works.

With quietness and confidence: for the lesson taught by Isaiah (30:15) and rejected with derision by his contemporaries, had at length sunk deep into the Hebrew mind. It is beautiful to watch the sublime confidence with which men commit their spirits into the divine hands (31:5) and though beset by dangers lie quietly down in sleep, with the assurance that their God will sustain them (3:5; 4:8). The power of the presence of God to drive out fear—illustrated already in the experience of the prophets and of Israel's great historical figures—is confirmed by many a word of the Psalter.

In God have I put my trust, I will not be afraid: What can flesh do unto me? (56:4).

Jehovah is on my side; I will not fear;
What can man do unto me? (118:6)

And in ever-memorable words:

Though I walk through the valley of the deep shadow, I will fear no evil: for thou art with me (23:4).

Therefore over even a very troubled life may brood an atmosphere of sweetest peace. Some expressions of this gentle confidence in God, especially in the group known as the Pilgrim Psalms (Pss. 120–134), are touched with singular beauty. What could be finer, for example, than this:

Unto thee do I lift up mine eyes,
O thou that sittest in the heavens.
Behold, as the eyes of servants to the hand of their master,
As the eyes of a maid to the hand of her mistress,
So are our eyes toward Jehovah our God,
Until he have mercy upon us (123:1 f.);

Or this:

Jehovah, my heart is not haughty, nor mine eyes lofty, Neither do I exercise myself in great matters, Or in things too wonderful for me.

Surely I have stilled and quieted my soul,

Like a weaned child with his mother (131:1 f.).

The spirit of devout humility and tender resignation has surely received its final expression in these two brief and beautiful songs. In the same group is a psalm which reminds us that it is not with feverish activity but in silence and with quiet trust that the finest gifts are won and the mightiest things achieved.

It is vain for you to rise up early,
To take rest late,
To eat the bread of toil;
For he giveth to his beloved in sleep (127:2).

With the Old Testament generally, most of the Psalms are limited in their outlook to this world. This explains the materialism, the impatience, the imprecations, the demand for speedy vindication which characterizes not a few of them. But though with their limited outlook upon another world, they are eager and all but clamorous to have their wrongs righted and their cause vindicated in this, and though the blessings for which they pray are often of a material sort, there are many who have mounted to the higher uplands of the spiritual life and whose dearest satisfaction is to have the gracious face of God shining upon them (4:6).

The transition from the one mood to the other receives its most brilliant illustration in Ps. 73. Here is a man who had been provoked and disheartened by the success of wickedness. It was those who denied and defied God that were sleek and prosperous; while he with his clean and scrupulous life had been hurled to the wall Verily if the service of God brought no better reward than that, it was hardly worth while; and the Psalmist's faith began to slip away from him. But one day the secret of it all was revealed to him—the fearful end of the sinner, and the good man's unbroken fellowship with God. Despite persecution and earthly failure, "As for me, I am continually with thee." This is one of the very greatest words of the Old Testament. Another psalmist, vexed by the same problem, had comforted himself with the thought that at death God would take him to himself (49:15). This psalmist's solution is much profounder, for it is not postponed to the world beyond. He finds peace and fellowship on this side of the grave as well as on the other. He, too, believes that at death God will take him; but he is no less sure that, in this world, God is holding him by the right hand, and guiding him across the pilgrimage of life. So, despite all seeming, he is continually with God, God is continually with him. He has nothing but God, but God is everything; and with him—even amid distress and defeat—he is content. Heart and flesh may fail, but God is his portion forever.

THE VITALITY OF LITERARY HISTORY

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Within the halls of one of the lesser, though not inferior, American seats of learning, the Semitic Scholar, Ernest Renan, was once the object of smiling though adverse criticism for his vast presumption in essaying a *Lije of Jesus*. "The habit some men have of turning in upon themselves, ruminating, then reversing the process, bringing forth from their inner consciousness a *Lije of Jesus* is not conducive to very creditable biography." The quotation is from memory after a lapse of some years; but such was the drift of the criticism.

But if criticism ever went astray from the indistinct trails of psychologic processes that make for vitality, cogency, and power within intellectual and spiritual spheres, that criticism on Renan did. For creditable biography in this day, as in days of first disciples, does not consist of sifted data and recorded fact in an erected skeletonic "Life," but shall be an evidence that the personality of the biography has been taken into the consciousness of the biographer no matter how data are confused, order of events interrupted, and the events themselves transmuted in the glow of that finest passion of idealization, never wholly free from racial thought-modes and provincial forms of expression. To merit the approval of a "Life" it needs come forth a thing of energy from the seat of the will, vitalized by the fruitful powers of the imagination.

It is not the privilege of anyone to reproduce even an approximately accurate narrative of the career of Jesus. That was not a privilege of immediate disciples since the impact of his personality was of too profound a nature to manifest itself immediately in literary activities. The time factor is important in all history: it assures that necessary measure of retrospection in which the flat field of confused incident and emotion before which men stand blind dissolves into orderly perspective in which sequence and values are apparent. Biographies are certainly not the result of scientific processes that make pretense to

accuracy. The common groundwork of sympathy necessary to an ordinary narrative is deflecting and warping. Yet none other than a lover of the man may tell us of him, so strong is the mind's demand for a living transcription that has to do with essences of personality. Bias and false judgment are easily forgiven; but academic barrenness merits the oblivion that fate decrees for it. To the degree of the scholar's success in achieving accuracy may be attributed his many failures to establish cogently to the reader's perceptions the force and charm of the personality he is portraying. Eliminate the devotee's veneration, and a compilation of events ensues; but it lacks the essence of a "Life"—a something seen through the perceptions of another, for life must touch life before life may result.

Compilations, however accurate and exhausting, are to be read as Sanborn's *John Brown* needs be read. The reader is compelled by the accumulating litter of common-place to send out his finest perceptions for the soul of John Brown; to recover it by intuition or by inference. You get impatient for a glimpse of the man behind all this farming and wool-dealing. Thoreau, though acrid and invidious in his modes of comparison, gave magnitude to the force in the man that urged him to deeds too great to be petty and too unwise to be aught else than the product of deathless dreams. Brown's death advertised to Thoreau that there is such a fact as death—the possibility of a man dying.

It seems as if no man had ever died in America before; for in order to die you must first have lived. I don't believe in the hearses and funerals they have had. There was no death in the case, because there had been no life; they merely rotted or sloughed off as they rotted or sloughed along. No temple veil was rent, only a hole dug somewhere.

Invidious the comparison, indeed! But here by indirection Thoreau uncovers a Herculean energy of will that death by its fatality startles into life. Sanborn's personal regard for John Brown was more intimate than that of Thoreau. But Sanborn was a collector of material and an academic compiler with an undue regard for petty detail that buried the man and revealed only the farmer. Thoreau was after the man, and found him in his own consciousness, not because he took Brown's personality into his consciousness but because John Brown was Henry Thoreau in no small degree. Hence the real

Brown, the magnitude of his Puritan and Spartan soul, is to be found in the comparatively brief essays in Thoreau's Miscellanies.

All that history signifies is not contained within the covers of the average textbook. Not even the sifting of data always uncovers the forces that break into events. A literary facility and a measure of political insight cause library shelves to be much littered. It is a rare mind that ruminates productively upon events, that feels the throb of social forces and economic ideals, that discerns the trend of given periods of civilization and the play upon, and directing of, time passions by great personalities. All this and much more is involved in the production of narrative that is dynamic and vital. It is absorption in consciousness of the above factors, and rebirth in adequate literary form that makes history. The events themselves are of less moment than their adequate interpretation.

The vast research and profound learning of Gibbon's Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire do not in themselves explain the vitality of this history to the student. Gibbon's interpretation of the events that marked Christianity's accession to power is so pronouncedly opposed to current opinion that this in itself would suffice, it seems, to condemn it to the shades of oblivion. But it is just this presumption in him to differ that saves him from academic and ecclesiastical sterility. The healthy, romantic curiosity of the Gothic mind finds in this presumption, his analysis of events by the norm of political convergence, and his critical characterization of participants, its field of suggestion, its stimulus, and its sanity. His age tempered his interpretations. He is read for this evident temper of the intellectual life in which he lived and which he assisted to create as much as aught else. That enriches his contribution to the world's literature. However soon or late his interpretations may be proven true or false, he is vital by virtue of this essence of himself and the intellectual temper of his day he has fused with his work. Not an annalist with but a single ability, that of notation, is Gibbon. Other forces assisted to keep him vital to him who is not afraid.

It may be contended that this style of writing is not historic but philosophic; it uses events or a series of events for a display of talents that are not necessarily those of the pure annalist. Events thus used are as drapery to exhibit the fine lines of an artistic figure. But the annalist at his best exercises a just discrimination in not ringing the changes on unimportant detail. In the days when history was poetry and folklore and was sung by bard and minstrel at court and castle, there was filth and obscenity and cowardice enough to celebrate. But valiancy of heart and strength of arm and love of native land were not only more pleasing to recite, but they were the virtues of endurance and productiveness in all the dreariness of primitive civilization. The poet-historian ruminated sufficiently to make selection, to epitomize the germane and characteristic, leaving very much unsung and unsaid that the scholiast might demand as necessary to a proper understanding of those barbaric days. Though incomplete and in a measure inaccurate, this early literature of folklore and poet-lore is vitality personified, and furnished much of the substance on which all later patriotisms and religions were reared.

The belying of facts and the distorting of images cannot be condoned in the writer of secular history. And no one of any culture is much deceived by an overweening preference on the part of the historian for this or that party in some national crisis. All are acquainted with the current criticism of Macauley's History of England. Macauley, however, is read, and, I venture to say, as much because of his bias and preferences as in spite of them. A perusal of Carlyle's French Revolution is a reading of Carlyle rather than a notation of occurrences of that social and political upheaval. Here is a Protean mind which reflects events for you. He is a forger of thunder himself; the lightning of such social impact is of the chemistry of his own mind. The bald facts of this political cataclysm are horrors without justification or relationships. But once let the play of adequate mental energies reduce this chaos to some order, and the shriek of its villianies is less gruesome and its several events and sequences assume place in a cosmic process that is orderly at least, behind the furies of swift-moving disasters. "God in history" is a myth until we collaborate with one who exercises vast powers of retrospection and introspection; who indeed turns in upon himself, ruminates, and then reverses the process. Disasters are illuminated by such survey with the wisdom that transfigures carnage and bloodshed. You may know something of the Revolution when you have

finished this item of your education, but you will know vastly more of the personality of Carlyle.

Various types of historians are necessary to successive levels of human culture. The clerk who unearths data and chronicles facts serves the classroom stage of education, and the need of praise which is his due cannot be withheld. Then follows the annalist of the order of the Venerable Bede whose recitation is touched with the charm of poetry. Another of a later date is the statesman-historian to whom court intrigues and political wars are as everything in the making of a nation. But in the prophet-mind, in whom literature, art, religion, and politics are epitomized and whose interpretative powers are appalled by nothing that transpires, lies real history. Events, literatures, and arts are fused in the chemic processes of his mind into substance-philosophy-like Taine who writes on literature and produces history; like Carlyle who writes history and the result is literature. History is the unfolding of a divine philosophy anyway; intelligence in the universe presupposes this. This movement of forces and tides of development challenges master minds, and the one who interprets out of his knowledge assisted by such powers as are personal to himself-intuitions, feelings for justice, sense-perception for the characteristic—is altogether vital and a truth-speaker, though accuracy in details may be sacrificed.

In the field of biography nothing better illustrates this than the Gospel of John. Let the controversy concerning its authorship rage! It matters not! The academician may insist that we have fact; it must either be or not be a production of the Beloved Disciple. The devotee is grieved that so characteristic a passage from a great soul as that of the adulterous woman should fall into discredit as an interpolation. The scholar may trace resemblances between its philosophy and that of the Philonian school, and that in turn run to earth in Plato. No matter! It yet remains the vital gospel because it is theologic and philosophic. It attempts to explain Jesus—to fit him into a preconception, a cosmogony already formulated. It is an interpretation of personality, and that means filtration through the opaque medium of another mind, which, however, moved in the finest philosophic speech of its day.

Here Jesus, even more than in the letters of Paul, is transfigured

(not disfigured) by the fact that he is the consciousness of the writer. He may lose something of historic reality but gains even by the questions that arise on this point, by the feeling that he was real to the inner sense of this Philonian mystic. Time is essential for the measuring of qualities of personality and that process of assimilation that re-embodies in cogent and living form. It hence matters little how late the critics set the date of its composition. The later the better, for the history of our own lives cannot be written until they are looked back upon from advanced years. The pen that gave this gospel form was virile with knowledge—self-knowledge—the kind of inner wisdom that much mental gestation emits. This writing is thus distinguished from the other gospels which are energized by faith—the blind faith of fishermen somewhat distinct from the profound insight of a man of culture.

The gospel writings are biographical but not autobiographical, ever something more than an array of incident that forms the milestones of a human career. The effort to bring a mighty soul within human reach and speech demands the subordination of the annalist's literary powers to the philosopher's insight. A soul—who shall say what it is? so sublimated are its essences, powers, and passions that defy analysis, and at most only the results of its manifestation remain a sensation in feeling or a treasure in memory. To be strictly accurate in limning such a nucleus of potentialities, disallowing all penetrations, is to invite biographical disaster. Events, time, and place are the primer on which the memory fattens itself. But the events of a notable career are always an after-thought: they are born of curiosity after the soul has passed on and the rustle of its wings is hushed. And being born of curiosity events are after all common-place and not infrequently destructive of that genuine contact which energizes the mind to new forms of activity. The letter of barren data kills the spirit of discerning insight.

The function of the clerk and scribe are here at discount. To tell an adequate story of Jesus we are less concerned with the day and hour of his birth than about the poetry that event elicited; for the poetry is the highest evidence of somebody's noblest powers in creative regency; somebody's love awakened to poetic retrospect in hymns of praise. This poetry will live when the date of his birth is forgotten.

Dates are nebulous and should be. If these gospels were designed for the salvation of men they were correctly written. They are the essence of varied psychic processes playing introspectively and retrospectively upon unorganized data, the center of which is a soul—a nucleus of ideals and altruistic passions wrapped about with mist. The force of such literature has ever been poetic and literary, charming the creative powers of imagination into the working-out of a type of ethical progress that is personal to the individual or the race. A Semitic dreamer has indeed been playing upon the fancy of heavier tempered races, not with a hard-and-fast formula of entrance into the kingdom of heaven, imposing a ready-made and unvielding salvation, but stimulating and teasing the heavy wit into finer musings on the eternal questions of life and death. Despite their barrenness of detail the gospel's orientalisms of imagery and modes of speech in terms of the supernatural are like the unconscious poetry of color and line and mass of motive flowing upward to mysteries draped in shadow and a glory not yet revealed. The salvation from nullity these gospels have been to the clayey mental substance of the European peasant when first they came to his hand, can never be estimated. This book was the primer of popular education; but the virtue of this education lay in its poetry and art that quickened a phlegmatic imagination that eventually created a medley of interpretations. But this variety indicates how effectively the wings of fancy were freed. And while the strife and wars of such freedom have been deplored, not to have had these powers of the mind impressed by a Semitic literature would have been vet more deplorable. The scholastic and academic in nowise qualified these productions.

The Renaissance has achieved the most distressing misconceptions of the poetry, phrased in terms of the supernatural, contained in these records. Its classicism and its pseudo-scientific spirit, have reduced this literature to a pitiable bone of contention as to the fact or fiction of its most luminous and suggestive incidents, and thus destroyed their possible motive to vaster achievements in art and religion. So that recent art impulse has turned aside from biblical sources for inspiration and found motive in mediaeval legend. The Pre-Raphaelite Brotherhood had every justification for its reversion to the days before Raphael for more serious ideals and types for artistic

speech than the present had to offer. Learning of the academic order had established its standards which could revel in the ponderous perfection of a Milton, but was deficient in mysticism of insight for values in poetry other than that of measured feet and polished rhyme. This type of learning would measure the quality of a work by the accuracy of the data there displayed, the true order of events adhered to, the consistency of doctrinal detail logically threading the whole into a fabric, rather than by that greater test of infinite suggestiveness of virile, potent charm that releases fertile mental and spiritual powers. All in religious literature cannot stand the test of "either fact or fiction." This rule does not hold in the art of revealing a great soul. The same classic temper elevates the canons of the Academy in determining the merits of an artist. If the artist is an academician in spirit, loving form for form's sake, judge him by that standard. If he have something to communicate, however, far beyond the concerns of mere technique, the canons of the Academy no longer obtain. The sodden mind that would contend for an absolute basis in history for the legends of the Holy Grail, of which Abbey's paintings are the dream-epics of truth certain as death itself, is as much justified in such position as the pseudo-scientist who would thrust the value of fact into a realm where fact has no value whatever. A strong statement that! but it is not beyond bounds. The chief event of marvel in the gospels—the resurrection—is not a matter of scientific analysis. It is literary in quality and belongs to the world of poetry and art. It is an impertinence for the apologist to attempt to prove its literalism in time and place; and no less than this for the skeptic to disprove its scientific accuracy. The mathematical faculty is in a sea of strange elements that compass and sextant hardly recognize. Point me to a religion that has not flowered into myth and legend, poetry and art, and there will you find the senility and impotency of age ere its youth has dawned.

Nothing attests the mystic virtues of Jesus as these elements of wonder that the post-Renaissant thinker, be he conservative or liberal, can so little abide. For the conservative literalist, insisting on the verity of these facts in history, loses his grip on the symbolic fact these things are in the soul of the writer. The critical rationalist, insisting on their conformity to scientific assumptions of cosmic pro-

cedures, dulls his wit to the force in the universe poetic, imaginative, and subjective inspirations ever have been, especially when epitomized in a personality. The son whose soul is alive with love for his mother lets his mind flower into beautiful fancies of her youth and reads into her life virtues that the unbiased observer might not find there. Nevertheless, these fancies are the symbols of a force in the mother who could create such love in the heart of a son a thousand-fold more valuable than any analytic résumé of her actual qualities. A great scientist has admitted his loss of appreciation for poetry by the persistent grooving of brain tissue with scientific formulae. cist clamoring for facts and certainty has done the same thing. The portraval of a master soul is possible only as that master abides in the consciousness, more real there than in the environs of time and circumstance. The more secure his seat there, the more certain his partial fusing with other elements in that faculty—preconceptions, the colorings or shadings of national or racial peculiarities; but the more time-enduring and vital the transcription.

Jesus' power was fluid: it transfused itself in the imagination of the believer, and, according to the greatest psychological laws, imposed no hard and fixed type of eternal life, but gave to individual initiative the largest and most efficient scope. These men of his day, and those near to his day, played retrospectively and introspectively upon him; and from this mental gestation emerged the fragments of a life that is all vitality and not by virtue of its accuracy, but by virtue of the existence in consciousness of his personality with those who wrote of him.

TWO BIBLICAL ATTITUDES TOWARD RICHES: JAMES 5:1-6; MATT. 19:23-26

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In the sacred books of the various religions there is to be found no parallel to the vigorous, biting, wholesale denunciation of the rich which appears in certain books of the Hebrew and Christian Scriptures. This proceeds, not from any love of poverty and aversion to riches—these books are not ascetic, as certain Buddhist and Jainist books are—but from the hatred of the rich. There is no use in blinking the facts. Those who demand a literal "biblical warrant" for beliefs and actions can find it in abundance for the savage denunciation of the rich. Few things are more firmly grounded in Scripture than this. Modern socialistic journalism is not more sweeping in its condemnation of capitalists than were the earliest and strongest Hebrew prophets, Amos, Hosea, and Micah.

In the New Testament this condemnation is rarer, but there is one passage quite in the spirit of the old prophets. It is James 5:1-6.

The author passes into his subject by a natural transition. At 4:13-17 is a warning against the folly of confidence in the future. It is directed against self-confident, money-making tradesmen. It lacks the bitter, personal sharpness of 5:1-6. Then, having dealt with traders seeking gain, he turns to those who have already obtained wealth. They seem, however, to have been, not traders, but landowners, who have gained wealth by grinding the faces of their laborers. Evidently local conditions in a situation which we cannot now recover lie behind this passage. Were the denunciation more vague, one would suspect a reflection of the early Old Testament prophets, where the rich men denounced are always landowners; but the condemnation seems too personal for a mere literary basis. The arrogance of wealth and luxury must have flaunted itself before the eyes of the man who wrote this. Were the rich oppressors Christian believers? Elsewhere in this tractate the implication seems to be that the people

of God were the poor and lowly, and their oppressors were the rich (2:5, 6). Yet here the rich are directly addressed. It is easy to account for this singular combination if James may be regarded as a Jewish homily edited for Christian uses.

Two things impress us in reading this passage. The first is the assumption that riches involve wickedness. The same assumption is frequently made in the Old Testament, in spite of the common thought that material goods are the gift of God. The assumption grew out of the actual experience of men. It is not an a priori premise but an a posteriori conclusion. The rich of the times were seen to get and use their money and power oppressively. Does this writer imply that great riches cannot be gathered without fraud? No, neither that nor its opposite. He is not generalizing. He is stating things as he sees them. He charges the rich men whom he knows with two things: (1) They get money by fraud; (2) they spend it selfishly (vss. 4, 5). Such fraudulent gain and selfish luxury result in murder —and murder of the righteous (vs. 6). It is as though they as judges had condemned the righteous to death. And the righteous man is not resisting them. He has reaped their fields, made their money, and then their fraud and luxury kill him. It is a black indictment, savagely drawn. Am I right in saying that no man in modern times is more savage?

Wherein does the biblical warrant for the denunciation of the rich lie in this passage, if a warrant is wanted? It lies in conditions like those which the author sees—wealth fraudulently gained and selfishly spent. The question is simply one of fact. Do the rich men whom we feel like denouncing fulfil one or both of these conditions? If they do, then we have biblical warrant for their denunciation, if we must denounce. There is one caution, however, which circumstances force upon the modern world. This writer seems to denounce the rich as a class; but when he begins to specify landowners we realize that he has in mind certain individuals whose business relations he knows. Now the larger the field the more unsafe are generalizations. So extensive and so complicated is the field of wealth in the modern world that it is very difficult to convey to others, by any generalization regarding its moral quality, a correct idea, even if one could be reasonably sure—which he cannot—that his generalization

is itself correct. What then is the denunciation which an exegesis would allow to be like that of James? It is the denunciation which says, "You men who make and spend money in such and such ways, when you use your wealth to get the better of other men, you are thieves; when you spend it for your own pleasure, even if in palaces and art treasures, you are debauchees, and in both you are murderers. The unresisting die that you may wield your money-power."

The second thing which impresses the reader is the threat that is made. The whole passage is written in the light of the expectation of the Messiah's speedy coming. Miseries are coming upon the rich. This day, in which they are laying up their treasures, is already the last day. Already their possessions are rotting. This last word is not found elsewhere in the New Testament. It is in LXX-Job 33:21; Ps. 37:6 (Eng. 38:5). Their rich garments are moth eaten, their silver and gold is rusted, and that rust is eating into their flesh. This is a thoroughly eastern phrase—to eat a man's flesh; only it is usually used of the oppressor eating the oppressed. See the figure savagely expanded in Mic. 3:2, 3. So the oriental talks to this day of the tax-gatherer or the official who "eats him up." Then follows the phrase which shows on what the writer's thought is centered, "You have hoarded up your treasure in the last days." This emphasizes the supreme folly of the rich, and so adds another sting to the denunciation, as, in vs. 8, it adds another inducement to patience on the part of the suffering.

The epistles are full of warnings and exhortations based on the sure expectation of the speedy coming of the messianic judgment. It must have been a powerful motive. The present day has nothing that will quite take its place in spectacular impressiveness. It is not equaled by the threat of the public condemnation of a growing ethical conscience, nor even by the fear of a social revolution. In the days of Jonathan Edwards, the judgment after death took its place, but that can hardly be said of the present. When the belief in the early approach of a messianic time died away, the church lost a tremendously forceful appeal for which it has never yet recovered a substitute. It is a problem for the leaders of religion and social ethics whether they can help to inspire a social sense so acute that the hope of a renewed society and the fear of an enlightened public conscience

will have the effect which this mistaken hope did in the early church. In spectacular effect, the threat of a social revolution doubtless comes nearer to the picture of the messianic judgment in the early church; but to use that is to play with fire. The Christian messianic hope grew out of Jewish apocalypse, and all that school of thought tended to political quietism. "Keep still," it said. "Be patient. Jehovah will interpose miraculously in his own time. You can do nothing. Trust Jehovah." James expressed this apocalyptic quietism in the next section, and begins, "Be patient, therefore, brethren, until the coming of the Lord." Social revolution is more akin to zealotism, which filled Jerusalem with blood. Now whether zealotism has its use or not, the New Testament never sanctions an appeal to it, nor any conscious incitement toward it. Nor does the above statement minimize the Christian duty of righting every wrong upon which the citizen can wisely and legitimately lay his hand. He must always recognize that there are, unhappily, wrongs which it is either unwise or unlawful for him to attack. Here is the place for apocalyptic quietism, which means holding to the right and trusting God.

A Christian of the present day, however, does not regard "biblical warrant" as the last word on any topic, especially on any topic in Christian ethics. He is not satisfied until he has found how the spirit of Jesus deals with the subject. He recognizes that the Old Testament often, and the New Testament occasionally, does not perfectly reflect the spirit of Jesus. When, therefore, he finds a passage like this in James reflecting clearly Old Testament ideals, but not duplicated elsewhere in the New, he will be all the more anxious to compare it with the attitude of Jesus before making it a model of present-day action.

Let us bring this passage to the test of the spirit of Jesus. One notes that, in so far as this is a denunciation of rich men, it has no parallel in the words of Jesus. Our Lord has no attitude toward rich men as a class. As well talk of an attitude toward men with blue eyes. But he did have an attitude toward riches; not the "wealth" of the economist; the abstract power of accumulated and transferable capital, but riches as related to the moral character of men. After all, his attitude is always as personal in the judgments it implies as is that of James. Jesus' attitude toward riches may be stated in two

propositions: (1) Riches are to be used for the kingdom of God—the stewardship of wealth; (2) riches are dangerous to those who would enter the kingdom of God-the temptations of wealth. The first of these is beginning to come into public consciousness. The last is not taken seriously by the Christian public, and vet it is that which called forth Christ's most explicit utterances regarding riches. While Luke is "the gospel of the poor," the strongest and fullest utterances of Jesus on the subject is Matt. 19:23-26.1 It is interesting to note that, as in James, personal relationship and not abstract principle stands behind the utterance. Only there is this great difference, that here the rich man was loved and there the men were hated. The occasion of these sayings of Jesus was the incident of the rich young man whom Jesus loved. He was sorry not to follow Jesus, but he really could not give up his wealth (Matt. 19:16-22). This occasions the statement of Jesus' general observation regarding the effect of riches on character. His generalization amounts to this: It is practically impossible for a rich man to be a member of the kingdom of God.2 The illustration of the camel and the needle's eve is an illustration of the impossible, perhaps a proverb. The once popular explanation of the needle's eye as a little city gate has no known ancient usage to sustain it. Not in this illustration lies the saving clause. Jesus gives it in his next saying: "With God even this is possible." That is, a rich man who has the spirit of the kingdom of God is a moral miracle. That is the result of Jesus' observation of the effect of riches on character. . It would have been difficult for him to put his sense of the extreme danger of riches in stronger terms. There is no savage denunciation here. There is something very much more serious than the rage of denunciation. It is the simple statement of a sad fact in human life as he saw it. The statement is based not on any social or economic environment, but on fundamental elements in character; and char-

¹ Other passages are Luke 6:20; Matt. 6:19; Luke 18:22; 14:33.

² The parallel passage in Mark 10: 24 gives an additional saying with two readings, "Children, how hard it is to enter into the kingdom of God." So S B A and others. Most manuscripts and versions insert "for those trusting in riches," as in the English version. Westcott and Hort, Nestle and other modern editors print the shorter text. The insertion was perhaps an attempt to explain a difficult saying. Using the shorter reading, Jesus' meaning is, "It is hard for any one to enter the kingdom (vs. 24). For a rich man, it is, humanly speaking, impossible" (vs. 25).

acter is the same now as then. Riches need not even be great to produce these results. Is there any one thing in society today which tempts men so effectually to lives of self-seeking, to narrowness, to silly pride, to contempt for others, to the loss of all that constitutes the spirit of Jesus as does riches? It blinds men to moral standards. It sets up a division in life, so that a man may be religious in his private life and a trickster in business at the same time. It creates the situation in which serious men can seriously assert that the attempts of the national executive to enforce the eighth commandment are an unwarranted interference with business. Its very catchwords are contrary to the spirit of Jesus-"Business is business;" "You must look out for No. 1." No occupation in life open to respectable men is so surrounded by moral dangers as is the occupation of making money. This passage is Jesus' warning of the danger. And yet, because money is power, because it is possible to do good with money, we encourage men to seek it and rejoice when those in whom we are interested get it. Now to reject a thing simply because it contains temptations savors of asceticism, and this age is not ascetic. But to grasp at a thing with avidity and give no heed to its moral dangers is the height of foolishness. And in this case, in the face of Jesus' strong statement of the temptations of riches, it is glaringly anti-Christian.

Christian students of the history of Buddhism never fail to note that modern Buddhists hold beliefs which are contradictory to the tenets of Buddha himself. They commonly look on this fact as marking a defect, and as a proof that Buddhism cannot be regarded as an ideal religion. It is open to the Buddhist to retort with a *tu quoque*. The practical impression given to youth about the proper attitude toward riches, and, in addition, the minimizing, or more often ignoring, of Christ's peculiarly vigorous statements about its temptations, amount to a contradiction of his teaching. The problem for the Christian preacher and teacher is, how can Christian society recover the correct Christian attitude toward riches?

PAUL'S SECOND MISSIONARY JOURNEY¹

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Upon their return from the council at Jerusalem Paul and Barnabas remained some time in Antioch "teaching and preaching the word of the Lord." But after the lapse of some days Paul proposed to Barnabas that they should make a tour of the churches that they had already founded for the purpose of inspection and encouragement. There is nothing to indicate that at this time Paul planned to make this a missionary journey into new fields. Barnabas assented to the proposal of Paul and suggested that John Mark be their companion. This, according to Acts, precipitated a dissension. It was but natural that Barnabas should desire the company of the young man, Mark, since he was his cousin (Col. 4:10). But Paul thought of him as a deserter (13:13; 15:38; cf. Luke 9:62; from the word used in 15:38 we get our word apostasy), and was unwilling to take with him one who would in all probability prove of little assistance. It is not at all improbable that we must interpret this episode in the light of Paul's words in Galatians 2:11 ff. There was a deeper difference between the two than the mere choice of a companion. Barnabas had been led away from the truth by the dissimulation of Peter, and Mark had doubtless sided with him. Paul now proposed to go among the churches which included both Jews and gentiles and the only attitude that he could countenance was that which allowed their free and full fellowship. This was the real cause of the division. Barnabas took Mark and sailed away to Cyprus, his old home (Acts 4:36), and the two disappear from the story. But however sharp the division at this time, the breach was later entirely healed (I Cor. 9:6; Col. 4:10).

Paul now chose Silas, one of the messengers from the church at Jerusalem to the church at Antioch, as his fellow-worker. Silas was a prophet and one of the chief men in the church at Jerusalem. He

¹ This study covers the International Sunday-School Lessons from July 4 to August 1.

was also a Roman citizen (Acts 16:37) and had received a Latin name, Silvanus. He would seem a fit companion for Paul in his work. Barnabas and Mark having gone to the churches of Cyprus, Paul and Silas proceeded by land to the north. They first visited the churches of Syria and Cilicia where Paul had labored successfully before he was called to the work at Antioch (Gal. 1:21-23; Acts 11:25; 15:23, 41; cf. Rom. 15:19, 20). These churches had been stirred up by the same party that had troubled the church at Antioch (15:23) and Paul would want to include them in this tour of inspection. Tarsus would naturally be one of the cities visited. From there the missionaries made their way through the Cilician Gates across the Taurus Mountains to the next Roman province to the west, Galatia. Here were the churches founded on the first missionary journey.

Two matters of particular interest are mentioned concerning their actions in Galatia. Derbe is the first place to which they come. Derbe and Lystra formed a "region" in the province. In Lystra they find Timothy. His mother was a Jewess who had become a disciple and his father was a Greek. Timothy had been trained in the Jewish Scriptures from his youth (II Tim. 3:15) and had become a convert under the preaching of Paul on his first visit to Galatia. He had a good reputation not only at Lystra but also at Iconium, eighteen miles distant, which suggests that he had done some evangelistic work. Paul desired to take him with him probably in the capacity in which Mark served on the first journey (13:5). He first had Timothy circumcised. He had steadfastly refused to listen to such a proposal concerning Titus at the council in Jerusalem (Gal. 2:3-5) because there he considered it an assault on the liberty of the gospel in Christ. Here it was a matter of free choice. Titus was not a Jew, Timothy was. To Paul neither circumcision nor uncircumcision was of any significance (Gal. 5:6; I Cor. 7:10). He expected Timothy to labor among the Jews of "those places" and regarded his circumcision as a matter of expediency. This was a case of becoming a Jew to Jews if he might save some (I Cor. 0:10-22).

According to Acts, as Paul and his companions proceeded on their way among the churches they delivered to them the decrees of the Jerusalem council. Paul himself says (Gal. 2:10) that they had

required of him and Barnabas nothing except that they should remember the poor. If Acts be correct in representing the action and decision of the council its statement concerning their deliverance to the churches need not be denied. If Paul would consent to such a decision and decree as the council is reputed to have announced, he can hardly have objected to transmitting it to the churches. In fact would he not have preferred to be its bearer rather than to intrust the task to another? Who could explain its significance and prevent its interference with the liberty wherewith Christ had set free so well as he? The letter was addressed to the "gentiles of Syria and Cilicia" and who but the apostle to the gentiles should carry it to his spiritual children? If we accept the account of Acts we must understand the action of the council as intended to facilitate good fellowship in the churches rather than as laying an exaction on the gentiles. This is in fact the spirit of the account.

When Paul and Silas reached Antioch they were at the western-most limit of the territory that had been evangelized on the previous journey. They must either retrace their steps or else seek a new and unevangelized district. Fifteen or twenty miles to the west lay the province Asia in which was situated the great and important city of Ephesus. Paul's thought turned in this direction but in some manner unknown to us he was prevented from putting his thought into action. The missionaries then turned to the north and proceeded along the border territory between Asia and Galatia until they came over against Mysia, the northern part of the province of Asia, when they would have entered Bithynia. Again they were hindered by a divine interposition for "the spirit of Jesus suffered them not." They now turned to the northwest and passing through Mysia without stopping they came to Troas on the coast.

It is the purpose of the book of Acts to show that the gospel expansion was due not to the planning of apostles and evangelists but to the leadership of the Holy Spirit somewhat against the plans of all the leaders. Paul and Silas had entered upon this journey simply for the sake of inspecting the fields already evangelized. This task completed, Paul would have entered a new province for pioneer work. He was thwarted twice in his plans and under the leadership of the spirit was brought to Troas. Here in a vision in the night he saw a

certain Macedonian standing and beseeching him to make Macedonia the scene of his further labors. Immediately he understood the significance of the interference with his previous plans. As the exact expression of 16:10 has it, by "putting things together" they were led to the conclusion that God had called them to preach to Macedonia.²

Whatever be the precise meaning of the phrase "the Phrygian and Galatian country" $(\tau \dot{\eta} \nu \Phi \rho \nu \gamma i a \nu \kappa a \iota \Gamma a \lambda a \tau \iota \kappa \dot{\eta} \nu \chi \omega \rho a \nu)$, there seems but little ground for saying that Paul stopped during the journey from Antioch to Troas for the evangelization of northern Galatia. It is evident that Paul is seeking a new and unevangelized territory and it is just as evident that the author of Acts desires to indicate what territory it is the Divine Spirit allows Paul to enter. He could hardly have omitted a reference to Paul's work in northern Galatia if there had been such. At Antioch Paul had felt the call to regions beyond. The Spirit constrained him to make a straight journey to Troas.

It has been supposed by several that the man whom Paul saw in his vision at Troas was Luke. It is thought that he was at this time a resident probably of Philippi engaged in the practice of his profession (Col. 4:14). This is taken to explain the introduction of the socalled "we passages" at 16:10.3 They would be the diary of one of Paul's companions at the various stages of his journeys. But this is by no means a certainty. The way in which the "we" is introduced indicates that the person who was the author of the "we" sections is distinct from the man who appeared in the vision. The writer places himself with Paul and his party as being influenced by the vision. But who the man was that Paul saw is a question of no importance. The point for which the author of Acts cares is that the vision created the conviction that Macedonia was divinely appointed to be the next field for evangelistic labor. Leaving Troas the missionary party made a straight course past Samothrace, in the middle of the Aegean sea, to Neapolis, and immediately proceeded thence

² For a modern illustration of an experience somewhat similar to Paul's see the story of "David Livingstone—the Missionary Explorer," in the *Missionary Review*, April, 1909.

³ The "we" passages are 16:10-17; 20:5-16; 21:1-18; 27:1—28:16. A discussion of them properly falls under a study of the sources and authorship of Acts. A study of them here would contribute little to our purpose.

eight or ten miles inland to Philippi, of which Neapolis was the port.

Philippi had been made a Roman colony by Augustus in 42 B.C. and was the first city of the province of Macedonia. It was largely a Roman city with Roman laws and Roman inhabitants (16:21). At an earlier date Amphipolis had been the chief city and may in some sense have been still a rival of Philippi. The number of Jews in the latter city must have been small since there was no synagogue there. It is worthy of remark that Philippi seemed to Paul important enough to become a center of work independently of the strategic character which a synagogue would give it. Paul and his party spent several days in the city and when the Sabbath came sought out the place where the Jews might be expected to meet for prayer. Custom decreed that such prayer-places should be located near the water (Josephus, Ant. xiv. 10. 23) probably for convenience in the frequent ablutions of the Jewish religion. The party found the place of prayer but no men came to it. There were, however, several women with whom they entered into conversation.4 Among them was Lydia who was not a Macedonian but a native of Thyatira, of the province of Asia and a proselyte of the Jewish faith. Thyatira was famous for its purple which was much sought after by the Romans of the upper classes. Lydia had found a profitable trade in this cloth among the people of Philippi, and had made it at least a place of temporary residence. Giving heed to the message of Paul she became a believer. She then proposed to the party of missionaries to make her house their headquarters while in the city. Paul apparently remonstrated but Lydia finally prevailed. Her house thus became the home of the first Christian church in Europe. The missionaries continued their labor and gathered a company of disciples, mostly from the gentiles.

The work proceeded without interruption until a slave girl who possessed the spirit of ventriloquism and divination had come under the influence of the new message. She was much impressed by the power exerted by the apostles and as they went daily to the place of prayer she met them, and, following them, kept crying out that they were slaves of the Most High God. This continued for several days.

⁴ Cf. Phil. 4: 2, 3.

Finally Paul was annoyed and commanded the spirit to come out of her. And it did so. Her masters saw that the hope of their gain was gone. They therefore laid hold of Paul and Silas and dragged them into the market-place. They brought them to the rulers and accused them of introducing customs unlawful for them as Romans to follow. They had probably heard the missionaries speaking of the messiahship and kingship of Iesus. This would appear to be treason against Caesar (see 17:7; cf. John 10:12). The rulers commanded the lictors to beat Paul and Silas and cast them into prison.⁵ It was unlawful to treat Roman citizens in this manner, but Paul and Silas seem to have had little or no opportunity to declare their citizenship. The conversation was probably carried on in the Latin tongue which they would scarcely understand. Besides, they were in the hands of an angry mob that was beyond reason or control.⁶ After they had been beaten they were cast into prison with their wounds unwashed. During the night the prison doors were hurled open by an earthquake. The prison itself was partly excavated in the rock and did not suffer materially from the shock. The earthquake precipitated a crisis which resulted in the conversion of the jailor and his household. In the morning the authorities probably heard of the event of the night. They sent the lictors to release the prisoners. They realized that they had made a mistake and were desirous of sending the prisoners away as quietly as possible. Paul sent word by the lictors that he and Silas were Roman citizens, and that they had been beaten publicly and unlawfully; he suggested that the rulers had better come themselves and straighten matters out. When this report reached them they became somewhat solicitous for themselves, and coming to the prison endeavored to make matters right with Paul and Silas. The Bezan manuscript adds to the usual statement the words "they came with many friends to the prison." They were very anxious that Paul and Silas should create no difficulty because of their mistreatment, but that they should leave the city as quietly as possible. This they did after a visit to the house of Lydia and a conference with the

⁵ Cf. Jer. 38:6.

⁶ Cicero tells of the scourging in Sicily of one who during the operation kept exclaiming unheeded "civis Romanus sum." Tacitus also is authority for saying that Roman citizens and even senators were occasionally scourged and put to death unlawfully (Hist. 1. 6; 2. 10).

brethren. Paul and his companions left here a church which was to him always a fragrant memory and a joy. It was the one church from which he felt free to receive pecuniary assistance. This they sent him twice while he was in Thessalonica (Phil. 4:16), once while in Athens (II Cor. 11:9), and once during his imprisonment at Rome (Phil. 4:10).

From Philippi Paul and Silas passed through Amphipolis and Apolionia and on to Thessalonica. The pronoun "we" drops out of the record at vs. 17 and is supposed to indicate that the author of the "we" passages remained in Philippi (cf. also 20:5). Amphipolis was about thirty-three miles southwest of Philippi and the capital of one of the four parts of Macedonia. It is suggested in 17:1 that Paul's reason for not stopping here or at Apollonia was the fact that neither of them contained a synagogue of the Jews and that neither was of sufficient importance to become a center of evangelism without it.

At Thessalonica the Jews had a synagogue. Besides, it was a city of great importance. It was at the head of the Thermaic gulf and was originally the capital of the second part of Macedonia. Since 44 A. D. it had been the seat of government for the entire province. It was the chief commercial city of Macedonia and was a free city with its own constitution. Its government was in the hands of the demos or people, and it had rulers who were called politarchs. It was situated on the great Egnatian way connecting it directly with the city of Rome. It had a large Jewish population and many proselytes. For three weeks Paul and his fellow-workers labored in the synagogue with large success.7 The Jews apparently became jealous of the Greeks who were received in large numbers and incited a riot, but not before the church had become predominantly gentile in character.8 The rioters assaulted the house where they supposed the missionaries were abiding, but they were not found. They therefore dragged Jason, who was probably a Jew with his name Macedonianized (Rom. 16:21; Josephus, Ant. xii. 5. 1), from his house and carried him before the

⁷ Paul's message to the Thessalonians while preaching among them will be discussed in another paper dealing with the two Thessalonian epistles.

⁸ It is an interesting coincidence that the name of one of Paul's converts, Secundus (Acts 20:4), is also the name of one of the politarchs found in the inscription discovered on the ruins of one of the arches of the city. It is of the time of Vespasian.

demos and the politarchs. The latter exacted from him security to keep the peace and let him go.

Immediately after the riot the brethren sent Paul and Silas away by night unto Beroea, about forty-seven miles distant. Timothy seems to have been left behind to come later (17:14). The Jews of Beroea proved much more hospitable to the truth than did those of Thessalonica and Paul made many converts among both Jews and gentiles. But the Jews of Thessalonica, hearing that Paul was preaching the word in Beroea, came down and raised trouble. Paul was immediately sent with a guard on his way to Athens. For some reason Silas and Timothy were left behind. When the guard were leaving Paul at Athens they carried a message from him to his two fellowlaborers to come to him with all speed. The gospel had thus been preached in three of the cities of Macedonia and the missionaries had been driven out of each of them. But from these as centers the gospel spread rapidly and within a few weeks Paul could write of the brethren in all Macedonia (I Thess. 1:7, 8; 4:10).

Paul seems not to have contemplated missionary work in Athens. But as he awaited the coming of Silas and Timothy, he was vexed in spirit at the evidence of idolatry which he saw in the city and could not refrain from delivering his message. So he reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews and in the market-place with anyone he might chance to find there. Some of the Stoics and Epicureans heard him as he was speaking. They caught enough of his message to interest them, but not enough to understand its significance. They therefore proposed to get a better opportunity of hearing him out. He seemed a babbler who had picked up some scraps from the various teachers that were constantly to be heard but there were two words which were new. They were "Jesus" and the "resurrection." They would know what these signified. Laying hold on Paul they conducted him to the Areopagus to get an undisturbed hearing. The Athenians

⁹ Cicero, In Pisonem 36, tells of him that after his maladministration in Macedonia he fled to Thessalonica, and then, because he was not secluded enough, he went on to the out-of-the way place, Beroea.

¹⁰ Paul tells us in Romans 15:10 that he had preached the gospel around to Illyricum. There is no time so likely for that work as this stay at Beroea. This suggests excursions from the center of activity into the surrounding region; a course which is in itself probable.

were eager to hear what he had to say, and standing in their midst Paul made his celebrated speech. With great tact he introduces his remarks by a reference to their zeal for religion and the altar to the unknown God¹¹ which he had noticed as he walked about the city. He then proposes to set forth to them the God whom they thus worship without knowledge. Remembering that he is in the home of culture he essays to set forth the gospel message in the garb of philosophy. He refers to God as the maker of heaven and earth and as one whose abiding-place is not in temples made with hands. He made all men of one blood and placed for them the bounds of their habitations. All men seek after him if perchance they may find him. Even one of their own poets had a vision of the truth and said "We are his offspring." Men have worshiped in ignorance and God has overlooked the past, but now he commands all men to repent. This he does on the ground that he has sent one who is to be the judge of the world and has set his seal upon him by raising him from the dead. The assembly listened up to the point where he spoke of the resurrection, and now, having a clear understanding of the apostle's meaning, they reject the idea with contempt. The Greek believed in the immortality of the soul, but to him the resurrection was distasteful. A very few accepted Paul's message. Among them were Dionysius, a member of the court, and a woman of note whose name was Damaris. Paul evidently considered this venture at Athens a failure. He seems to have counted no convert here at all (I Cor. 16:15; 1:16).

When Timothy came to Paul at Athens he brought news of such distressing character concerning the situation in Macedonia that Paul immediately sent him back to Thessalonica with a message of encouragement (I Thess. 3:1-5). Silas probably came to Athens about the time of Timothy's arrival and brought gifts from the church at Philippi (II Cor. 11:8; Phil. 4:15). Paul apparently sent him again into Macedonia (Philippi?) and later he and Timothy together came to Paul at Corinth (Acts 18:5).

Paul had learned some things at Athens, and when he came to Corinth he was determined that his message should be "Jesus Christ and him crucified" (I Cor. 2:1, 2). Here he formed one of the most

¹¹ Pausanias is authority for the statement that they had more altars in Athens than in all Greece besides. They had altars to Victory, Shame, Rumor, and Energy.

fruitful friendships of his life. He met Aquila, a Pontian Jew, and his wife Priscilla, who had lately been driven out of Rome by the edict of the emperor expelling all Jews from the city. They, as well as Paul, were tentmakers (18:3) (weavers of cloth from goat's hair) and this naturally brought them together. Paul worked with them during the week and taught in the synagogue on the Sabbath. He made few converts among the Jews, but one of them was Crispus, the ruler of the synagogue. When the Jews opposed them he turned to the gentiles among whom he was very successful. His converts were mostly of the lower classes (I Cor. 1:26-28), but there were exceptions (Rom. 16:23). He made his home with one Titus Justus, a Roman proselyte who lived near the synagogue. Here Paul abode and continued in the work at Corinth for one and one-half years. In the early part of his stay at Corinth he had some experience which was especially depressing (I Cor. 2:3) and dangerous (Acts 18:9), but he received a special manifestation of divine presence which greatly strengthened him and encouraged him to go on.

Paul's stay was terminated by the action of the Jews who seized him and brought him before the proconsul Gallio, brother of the celebrated philosopher Seneca. The charges they made appeared to Gallio to concern only differences of opinion in questions of their own religion or superstition and he refused to have anything to do with the matter. The Greeks, seeing his indifference, took advantage of the opportunity to express their antipathy for the Jews by beating. Sosthenes, the synagogue ruler and probably a leader of the mob.

Paul sailed away for Syria. Stopping at Ephesus he left Aquila and Priscilla. He himself remained a few days and reasoned in the synagogue with the Jews. They asked him to stay with them awhile. He replied that he could not but would return to them later if God permitted. He sailed away to Caesarea, went up and saluted the church (of Jerusalem?), and then on down to Antioch.

Paul had been absent not less than two and one-half or three years and had traveled about 2,500 miles. He had visited and instructed the churches in two provinces, Syria-Cilicia and Galatia, and had evangelized two new provinces, Macedonia and Achaia. He had advanced a stage nearer the imperial city, and had planted the gospel in the fertile soil of Europe.

Exploration and Discovery

THE TEIMA STONE

While few Semitic monuments surpass the Teima Stone [frontispiece] in interest and importance, it is one of the least known of the great inscriptions. Teima in North Arabia is generally identified with the Tema of Job 6:19. The place must have been famous in antiquity, doubtless as a caravan center between Petra, Gerra, and Sheba, for it is often mentioned by Old Testament writers, who knew little of Arabia in general; cf. Gen. 25:15; I Chron. 1:30; Isa. 21:14; Jer. 25:23.

Wandering through that region in 1876-78, Charles Doughty found and copied many Nabataean inscriptions of the time of Christ, and less considerable Aramaic inscriptions of an earlier time. A rumor of a long Aramaic text somewhere in that district reached Doughty, but he did not see the stone. In 1880 Charles Huber passed that way, and not far from Hail discovered this longer inscription, a part of which he copied. The importance of the tablet as revealed by Huber's copy led him to revisit the spot in 1884 with Jules Euting. They found the stone, which was built bottom upward into a wall in Tlehan. Euting made a careful copy of it and both he and Huber took impressions of it. They found it possible to purchase it from the Arabs, and ordered its removal to Hail, after which they proceeded to el-Ala, and parted. The sequel is well sketched by Hogarth, in The Penetration of Arabia. Euting was soon attacked by Bedouin, but escaped after killing two of them, and arrived in safety at el-Wij on the coast, and so reached Jerusalem. Huber remained longer in Arabia, returning to Hail, in the interior, and then proceeding by way of Mecca to Jidda on the coast. Having sent his squeeze of the stone to Renan from Jidda, he started back for Hail, but was murdered by his own guides on July 20. Meantime Euting had on June 12 sent his squeeze and copy from Jerusalem to Nöldeke at Strassburg, and thus Euting's copy of the inscription first reached Europe, and was promptly published by Nöldeke. Only a few days later, Huber's copy reached Renan, who bitterly lamented the chance that had robbed his friend of the fruits of his tragic enterprise. Yet Huber's fame in connection with the Teima Stone is secure; he was its discoverer, and brought to Europe the first account of it, while his efforts led to its transfer to a European museum. The death of Huber left the stone with his other effects in the hands of the Emir at Hail. With the Germans and French competing for its possession, its fate was for a time in doubt; Snouck-Hurgronje, the Dutch

scholar famous for his long residence at Mecca, tried to help Euting, and the French secured his expulsion from Mecca in consequence. At length Lostalot, the French consul at Jidda, secured the stone and had it forwarded to the Louvre.

The Teima Stone is generally believed to date from the fifth century before Christ, although some would place it early in the sixth century. It deals with the introduction of the worship of a new divinity, Salm of Hagam, into Teima, the appointment of his priest, Salmshezeb bar Petosiri, and the stipend of the latter, which is fixed at the produce of twenty-one palm trees. First in importance among Aramaic inscriptions of Arabia, it bears fresh testimony to the ancient relations of Teima with Egypt and Assyria, for while its names suggest Egypt, its art recalls Assyria. The front of the stone is occupied with the inscription; but on its side is carved the figure of the new god, in Assyrian dress, with his priest below him.

The stone measures forty-three inches in height, seventeen in width, and not quite five in thickness. The inscription consisted of twenty-three lines, rather more than half of which are preserved. It is dated "in the twenty-second year," but the name of the king has disappeared. The gods of Teima are mentioned, but little more can be read before the eighth line. From this point the text reads:

This therefore is [the tablet] which Salmshezeb son of Petosiri [set up] in the shrine of Salm of Hagam. For the gods of Teima [have consecrated] Salmshezeb son of Petosiri, and his seed in the temple of Salm of Hagam. And if anyone destroys this tablet, may the gods of Teima pluck him and his seed and his posterity up from the face of Teima. And this is the gift which the gods of Teima, Salm of Mahram, Sangala and Asira [grant] to Salm of Hagam; from the field sixteen palms and from the royal treasury five palms; in all twenty-one palms annually. Let not gods or men [remove] from this temple Salmshezeb, son of Petosiri nor his [seed] nor his posterity [who are priests] in this temple [forever].

It has been conjectured that the Teima Stone was a votive tablet erected by the new priest, who perhaps credited some deliverance from peril to his foreign god, and on that account took the name of the god, became his priest, built a shrine for him in Teima, endowed his worship there, and with the consent of the local authorities sought to perpetuate it by the erection of this tablet. The stone is of interest not only as an early example of Aramaic epigraphy, but as affording an unusual glimpse of the religious life of ancient polytheistic Arabia, in the time of Nehemiah the . governor, Ezra the scribe, and Geshem the Arabian.

EDGAR J. GOODSPEED

Book Reviews

Historical Bible. Vol. I, The Heroes and Crises of Early Hebrew History from the Creation to the Death of Moses. Vol. II, The Founders and Rulers of United Israel from the Death of Moses to the Division of the Hebrew Kingdom. By Charles Foster Kent. New York: Scribner, 1908. Pp. 251, 238.

Kent's name stands for a well-defined type of work. We expect his pen to popularize the more assured results of present-day scholarship. The present volumes are in complete accord with the past record. They are intended to do service of a more popular and preparatory nature than the excellent "Student's Old Testament Series," by the same author.

The aim of the volumes before us is to make the older, vital record of the early beginnings of Israel's history available for popular reading and study. The series is planned so as to present the most important songs, prophetic addresses, laws, psalms, proverbs, and epistles, in chronological order. This aim is most commendable. Who having any feeling for sequence of fact or idea is not sorely puzzled at this lack in the biblical books? Messages of the same decade or even the same year lie sundered far apart, while books separated in their origin by centuries are next-door neighbors or may be even dovetailed together. To meet this great need, has this series been planned. With what success it has been carried through may be gathered in part from a brief review of the method and matter of two volumes that have already appeared.

The first volume carries us to the end of the wilderness journey; the second to the end of Solomon's reign. In addition to the historical narrative, which follows what is judged to be the earliest and hence the original tradition, there have been incorporated in their appropriate places the earliest songs and the earliest laws. In the second volume the older decalogue and the Covenant code, find their historic background. The younger decalogue is also interpreted here, though conceived to be the crystallization of later prophetic thought.

The biblical text stands out clearly in heavy type. It is divided into short sections each of which deals with a single theme, and the arrangement is thus most helpful as a basis for study in Bible schools and colleges. The translation "seeks to retain all that is best in the American Revised Version" and yet "embody the constructive results of modern scholarship and discovery." It is almost identical with the translation of the same

passages as found in the Student's Old Testament. Occasionally phrases which in the last-named work are assigned to late editors, find place in these volumes without any comment or suggestion, e. g., "Tree of life" Gen. 2:9. Many of the passages where all our versions fail, have been adequately rendered, as Judg. 11:39. Not infrequently do we find a translation which is interpretative. In Gen. 4:15 the sign on Cain is boldly rendered "tribal mark." In Judg. 11:40 the translation is, "yearly the daughters of Israel go four days in the year, to bewail 'the death' of the daughter of Jephthath the Gileadite."

Following the text of each section, there are brief paragraphs which deal with the historical interpretation, the sidelights from Semitic custom and literature, the religious value, and present-day lessons. The interpretation is always very valuable. To those for whom the books are primarily intended, every page will throw welcome light on Old Testament customs and ideas which otherwise are very obscure. Parts of the creation stories, a part of the flood story, references to Babylonian laws, Canaanitish and Egyptian customs, etc., are used to illustrate facts in the Old Testament. One great advantage is that these are found by the side of the translation. The results of years of work and the nucleus of many volumes of ancient lore are here made accessible to all Bible readers. In fact the explanatory paragraphs are likely to be read by a large constituency, more eagerly than the text itself, while the text will no doubt assume a new and richer significance when thus viewed. In so small compass there is perhaps not so much cogent comparative material to the Old Testament narrative anywhere accessible to the English reader.

A feature of great value to the younger students and the Bible-school teacher is the present-day application of the early religious teaching. This is certainly constructive. The lessons drawn are not always those which our fathers would have found. They are pre-eminently practical and religious. Though rarely doctrinal, and then of a modern tone, they are of so vital a nature that they would pass muster before even the most conservative mind.

No doubt there are features in the books which will cause some question. Not all the interpretations are likely to stand the ultimate tests. The order of events may not be final. Occasionally the emphasis might have been different. Samson, who receives large space, is important for the understanding of early conditions in Israel; but no less important are Micah and his experiences, Judg., chap. 17; the Danite migration, Judg., chap. 18; and other features which have been completely ignored. Though our Samuel stories are from later prophetic hands, surely the historic charac-

ter was worthy of at least a brief discussion. One feature in the arrangement of the book has not appealed favorably to the reviewer. The Scripture references are removed from the text and are found only in the indexes in the beginning of the books; and the reference literature is found only on the last pages of each volume. Even here references are given not in particular, only in general. Chapter and verse on the margin of each page would not interrupt the flow of the story to those who have been so long accustomed to this feature. It would make it decidedly easier then to identify each section, and note what changes have been introduced. References to authorities placed at the bottom of the page would certainly add to the convenience of the reader.

Yet these are the non-essentials. The volumes are most worthy contributions to the present great need for scholarly constructive studies. They have already been used by the author as textbooks for Bible study. They will serve to hold many young men and women who are seeking a reasonable and connected story of the revelation of God through his early people. They will no doubt give a taste to some for further fruitful study along the more critical lines of biblical work. The volumes are thus to be heartily recommended. They present an adequate translation, illuminating historical notes, and a sane religious application.

I. G. MATTHEWS

McMaster University Toronto, Can.

Our New Testament: How Did We Get It? By Henry C. Vedder. Philadelphia: American Baptist Publication Society, 1908. Pp. xii+388. \$1.

The author sets out to show how the books now included in our New Testament attained their place in the canon, and how other Christian writings of the early age came to be rejected. After presenting all the material facts, as he thinks, he finds the following to have been the tests which determined canonicity: (1) the extent to which a book was commonly read in the churches; (2) the extent to which it was quoted by the early Fathers; (3) incidentally apostolic authorship was also considered, but this was certainly not a chief test; (4) correctness in doctrinal content; (5) the capacity of a book to edify its readers. This last was the primary and all-controlling test.

But what historical event, or events, furnished the incentive for applying tests? None in particular. The books gained prominence because they inherently contained a divine quality which Christendom recognized, at first silently and later openly. Ecclesiastical sanction exercised no control-

ling influence in the elevation of some books and in the rejection of others; the result was simply the expression of the general Christian consciousness. The author so reads the first four centuries of Christian history that it seems to him to establish beyond the shadow of a doubt the validity of his view. Others, however, with equal scholarship and with seemingly no stronger subjective bias, have read the history differently. The recent works of Gregory and Ferris (previously reviewed in the *Biblical World*) should be referred to by those who wish a further discussion of the questions.

The author's case, waiving for the moment his treatment of history, is perhaps weakest where he tries to make his theory account for the rejection of certain books which the early church valued highly. To imply, for example, that Paul was conscious of writing under the special influence of the Spirit while the non-canonical writers were not, is not fair to Clement of Rome at least, since he says he is distinctly conscious of the Spirit's guidance in writing to the Corinthians. Moreover, it is a fundamental thesis of the present treatise that the high estimate of the early Christian writings started with the recognition of a divine quality in them. This was not at first openly asserted but it was felt from the beginning, for the idea of the scriptural authority of Paul's epistles antedated the custom of reading them in public. The church never would have taken the trouble to preserve and publicly read writings not believed to be of divine origin. So it is maintained. Now it is a fact, which is not denied, that the early church took the trouble to preserve, read in public, and highly value the writings of Clement of Rome, Barnabas, and Hermas. If inspiration ex hypothesi underlay esteem, and if this, as has been claimed, was the ruling factor in determining canonicity, why were not these books canonized? At this point the hypothesis is not workable.

In matters of detail there are several minor defects. Ill-advised statements, such as that the Peshito belongs "not improbably" to the first half of the second century, occur too frequently. And the writer's manner is not always scientific. With naïve self-assurance he sets aside, from time to time, the work of such scholars as Westcott, Harnack, and Gregory, pronouncing his own work to be the statement of "all the material facts" and his inferences to be "rational," while others are charged with perverting facts and reasoning in a less than puerile fashion.

Notwithstanding these unfortunate features, the book has one merit that should be highly commended. It emphasizes that the canonical books claim our esteem not on the basis of any ecclesiastical authentication but because their contents appeal to our Christian consciousness.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

The Religion and Worship of the Synagogue: An Introduction to the Study of Judaism from the New Testament Period. By W. O. E. Oesterley, B.D., and G. H. Box, M.A. New York: Scribner's, 1907. Pp. xv+443. \$3.

The authors are Christian, yet they are thoroughly in sympathy with their subject. They see in Judaism "one of the great living religions of today," and they aim to present it as "a vital organism with a soul and genius of its own." Their contention that such a study is important for Christians is well taken. Christianity in its early days was closely related to Judaism—the first believers were Jewish in religious instincts and training; they continued to retain their former customs, and they used the same sacred scriptures as before. Yet the average reader of the New Testament knows comparatively little of this contemporary Jewish religion. Doubtless prejudice has done much to maintain this condition of ignorance, but heretofore the English reader has had no such convenient handbook of information as is supplied by the present volume.

The subject-matter is arranged under three main divisions. The first is introductory and deals with the history and literature as source-material for further inquiry. The second section expounds the principal dogmas, such as the estimate of the Law, the conception of God, intermediate agencies between God and man, the doctrine of the Messiah, eschatology, and the doctrine of sin. The third part describes the practical side of the religion, for example, education and life of the Jew, the sacred year and calendar, the prayer-book, sabbath, festivals, solemn days and fasts, and religious rites and customs.

The book has several faults, some of which may seem serious. It endeavors to cover the entire period from Ezra's time to the present, and so must omit some topics of importance and give others less attention than they deserve; but this defect is partially overcome by references to more exhaustive special works. The reform movement in Judaism is not at all adequately treated, but the reader may now consult Philipson's Reform Movement in Judaism for supplementary information. One does not always relish the unqualified statement of personal opinions as though they were matters of fact, for instance, "among Christians sacraments were, and are, the condition of salvation" (p. 258), but the writers are professedly staunch "Churchmen." On the whole, however, the book is a valuable one for the student who wants a tabulation of the principal facts in the literature, beliefs, and practices of early Judaism. Thus used it may prove, as the authors hope, a corrective for what in the past has sometimes been a one-sided and defective exegesis of the New Testament.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

SHIRLEY JACKSON CASE

New Literature

The most important books listed in these columns will receive notice in the book-review pages.

OLD TESTAMENT

JORDAN, W. G. Biblical Criticism and Modern Thought, or The Place of the Old Testament Documents in the Life of To-Day. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xi+322. \$3.

This volume has grown out of a series of nine lectures given at Queen's University in 1906-7. It now comprises fourteen chapters. It is in the main an effort to justify the position of historical criticism against such charges as those made by Orr, in his *Problem of the Old Testament*. The task is on the whole well done and the volume should do good service, though it is not altogether easy reading.

GEDEN, A. S. Outlines of Introduction to the Hebrew Bible. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xv+367. \$3.50.

This book offers more than its name seems to imply, in that it has a concluding chapter on the literary and historical criticism of the Pentateuch. The bulk of the book is given to the language, text, canon, and versions of the Old Testament. This presents in simple and accessible form the more important facts necessary to any student's equipment. The book thus fills what has long been a vacancy in the company of handy guides to the interpretation of the Old Testament.

NEW TESTAMENT BOOKS

SHARMAN, HENRY B. The Teaching of Jesus about the Future. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 382. \$3.

Adopting Professor Burton's solution of the Synoptic Problem, in its substantial features, Dr. Sharman reconstructs the documents lying back of our Synoptic Gospels, and presents the different principles upon which Matthew and Luke made use of them. He proceeds to a critical discussion of the historical worth of the eschatological and kindred utterances ascribed by the synoptists to Jesus, concluding that Jesus' actual teaching about the future was designed more to safeguard his followers from immediate dangers, than to depict the end of the age or the messianic advent; and that in his thought the kingdom of heaven was to come gradually, not catastrophically, as Jewish messianists generally believed. In general his teaching was ethical and practical, rather than apocalyptic and eschatological. This important work will later be reviewed at length in the Biblical World.

WILLIAMS, CHARLES B. The Participle in the Book of Acts. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 80.

This dissertation presents a careful and minute analysis of the uses of the participle in the Greek text of Acts, and proceeds to draw from them such inferences as the facts warrant. Dr. Williams is led to accept the Acts as the work of one author, but finds the participial usage supports the theory that the author used three written sources, in conjunction with unwritten Jewish-Christian tradition.

STAUDT, CALVIN K. The Idea of the Resurrection in the Ante-Nicene Period. ("Historical and Linguistic Studies in Literature Related to the New Testament," Series II, Part VIII.) Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. 90. 50 cents.

The doctrine of the resurrection of the flesh is shown to have made its appearance early and to have developed fully in the second century of Christian thought.

Dr. Staudt discusses the idea of the resurrection as it appears in the New Testament writings, and subsequent Christian literature, through Methodius and Lactantius. His study makes a valuable contribution to this difficult subject.

ROBERTSON, A. T. Epochs in the Life of Paul. A Study of Development in Paul's Career. New York: Scribners, 1909. Pp. xii+337. \$1.25.

This companion volume to Robertson's *Epochs in the Life of Jesus* presents a readable sketch of the life of Paul. The style is simple and rapid, but sometimes becomes too disjunctive and informal. The sketch is based on the narrative of Acts, with some use of the epistles, of which Robertson accepts thirteen. Galatians is put after Corinthians, and in general the traditional lines are followed. Paul's death is placed in 68, at which time Robertson believes Nero to have been still persecuting the Christians (p. 303), a view apparently at variance with all the historical probabilities. The book shows no real grapple with the hard historical problems, and in general one does not feel that serious critical investigations immediately underlie the positions taken. In short, this is not a book for the student.

Scott, Robert. The Pauline Epistles: A Critical Study. Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1909. Imported by Scribners. Pp. 376. \$2.

Mr. Scott has developed an extraordinary theory of the authorship of the Pauline epistles. To Paul he allows only five: I Cor. (except 15:20–34), II Cor. (except 6:14—7:1, 13:11—14), Rom., chaps. 1—11, Gal., Philip., and Rom. 16:1—16, 21—24. A second group, including Eph., Heb., I Pet., I Thess., chaps. 4 and 5; II Thess., chaps. 1 and 2; Rom., chaps. 12, 13, and 15; I Cor. 15:20—34; II Cor. 6:14—7:1, is referred to Silas, who is also credited with the final redaction of the Gospel of Matthew and perhaps some touches in Acts. A third group is the work of Timothy, and comprehends I Thess., chaps. 1—3, II Thess., chap. 3, Col., Philemon, and probably Rom., chap. 14; while the same hand probably put Mark's gospel into its final form. Finally a fourth group including II Tim., I Tim., and Titus, is referred to Luke, with whose gospel and Acts these letters show connection. This startling theory of the Pauline literature will be more fully reviewed in a later number of the Biblical World.

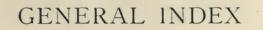
RELATED SUBJECTS BOOKS

FOSTER, G. B. The Function of Religion in Man's Struggle for Existence. Chicago The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xi+203. \$1.

This is the expanded and revised form of an address originally delivered before the Philosophical Union of the University of California at Berkeley. It is a powerful presentation of the value of religion in the enrichment of life, from the point of view of functional psychology. The book does not aim to present a complete apologetic for Christianity, and, of course, must not be estimated on the basis of what it does not seek to do. It is but the exposition and evaluation of one single aspect of the religious process and as such deserves high praise and will compel attention.

Hall, Chas. Cuthbert. Christ and the Eastern Soul. The Witness of the Oriental Consciousness to Jesus Christ. [The Barrows Lectures, 1906-7.] Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1909. Pp. xlii+208. \$1.25.

These are the lectures delivered by the late President Hall, of Union Theological Seminary, in India, on the occasion of his second visit thither as Barrows Lecturer. The lectures met with an enthusiastic reception on account of the beauty of their diction and the equally great beauty of spirit that characterizes them. Dr. Hall possessed in a remarkable degree a true appreciation of and real sympathy with the oriental mind. Missionaries, missionary boards, and all concerned with the propagation of Christianity among oriental peoples may learn much from these lectures.





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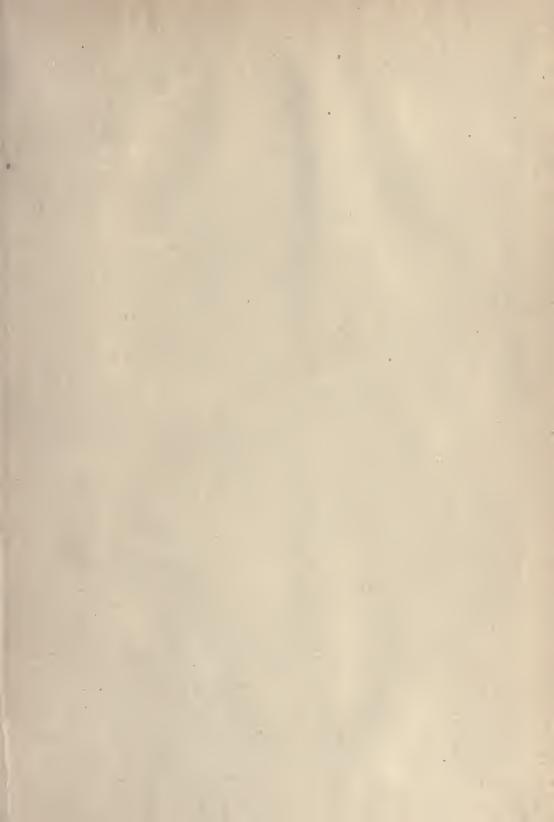
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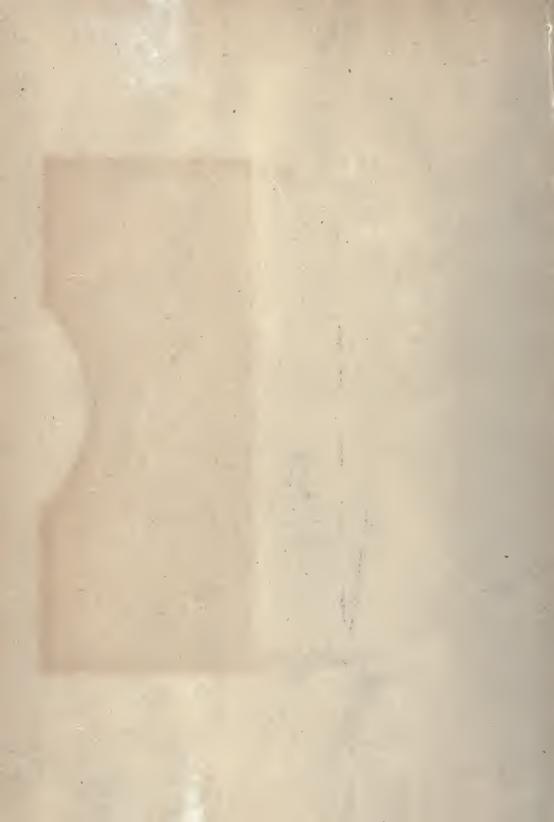
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